

LABOR UNITY

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New Tasks of The T.U.E.L.

By Wm. Z. Foster

National Miners Union Convention

National Textile Union Convention



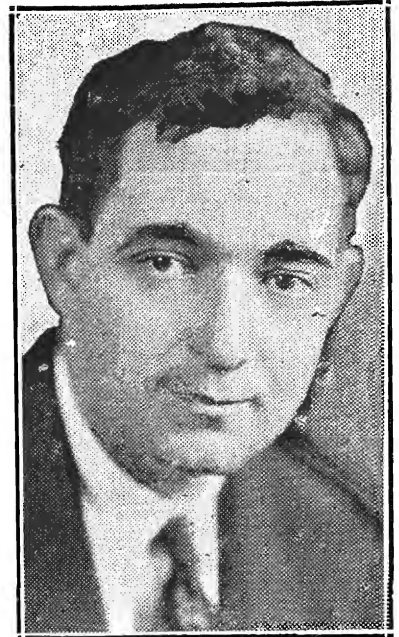
DELEGATE GEORGE MORAN, killed in a union meeting on the eve of the National Miners' Convention by a Lewis spy who was trying to prevent a real miners' union.

FOSTER and GITLOW



WILLIAM Z. FOSTER
Nominee of the Workers (Communist) Party for President.

VOTE FOR THEM



BENJAMIN GITLOW
Nominee of the Workers (Communist) Party for Vice-President.

The present election campaign presents the workers with no hard choice to make. There is only one party in the field with a ticket which stands for the rights of Labor, which runs workers for President and Vice President. The Workers (Communist) Party of America is that party, its nominee for President of the U. S. is Wm. Z. Foster, a car worker, and secretary of the Trade Union Educational League; its nominee for vice president is Benjamin Gitlow, garment worker, and strike leader, imprisoned for his stand for labor during the war hysteria. The Republican and Democratic parties represent big business, the Socialist party represents small business. The Workers Party is the party of the workers and farmers.

LABOR UNITY

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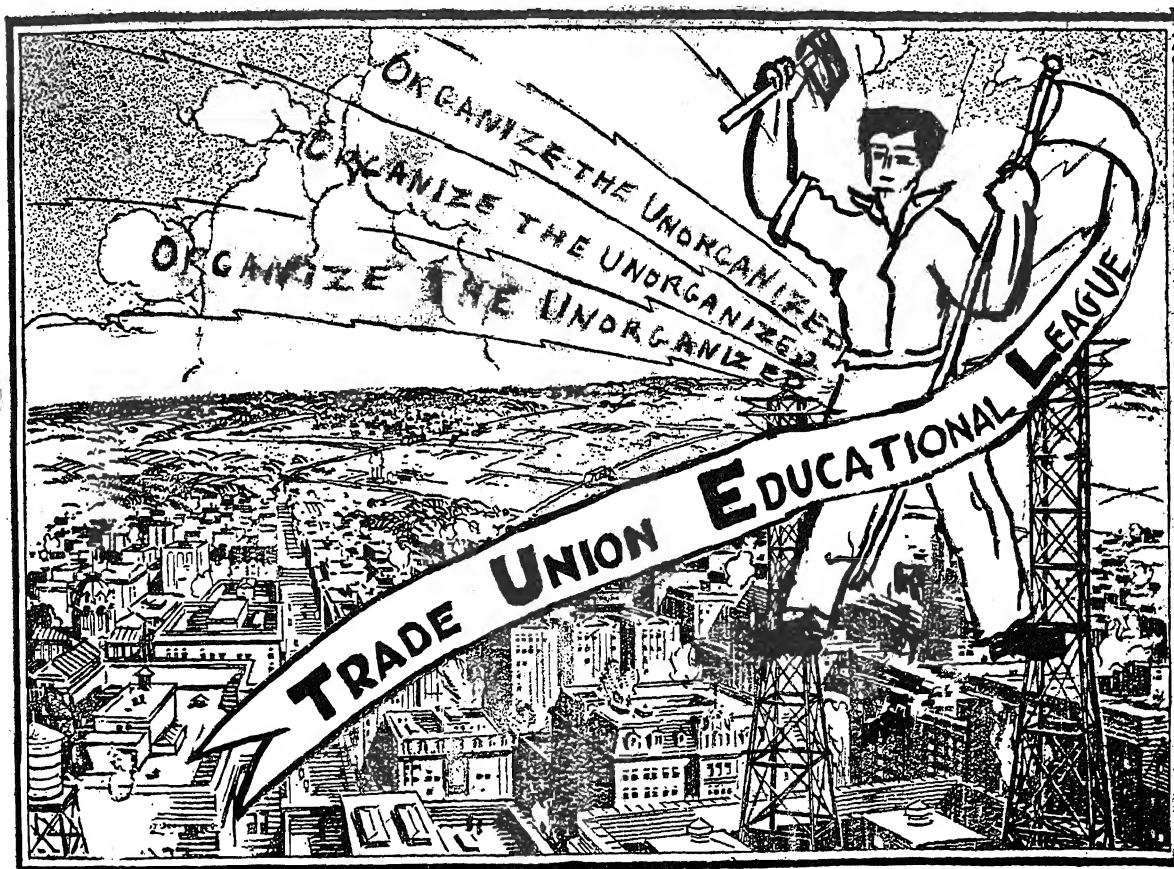
New Tasks of the T. U. E. L.

By WM. Z. FOSTER

(National Secretary of the Trade Union Educational League)

WITH the present depression in industry, the widespread wage cutting campaign, the great growth of the army of unemployed, the breakdown of the old trade union movement, the unprecedented speed-up developments in industry, and the vast war preparation plans of the capitalists, the workers in the United States confront practically a new situation. This thrusts fresh tasks upon the Trade Union Educational League, and requires a shifting of the emphasis on old ones. This article, stressing the resolutions of the 4th World Congress of the Red International of Labor Unions, undertakes to give a lead on the tasks of the T.U.E.L. in the present situation.

Organization of the unorganized is the basic task confronting the left wing. It must be tackled with far greater energy and directness than ever before. The great key industries of the country, the vast armies of semiskilled and unskilled, are almost totally unorganized. The reactionary leaders of the A.F. of L. will not organize these masses; they are opposed to it. More and more they base themselves upon skilled workers and sacrifice the interests of the unskilled. The organization of the great mass of unorganized is the task of the left wing. (Continued on Page 18).



AS A JAPANESE WORKER IN AMERICA SEES IT.

The appeal broadcast by the T.U.E.L. to organize real unions, taking in all races, creeds, colors, and nationalities is making its impression on those who have been excluded from the old trade unions.



JOHN WATT, President
National Miners' Union.

LAUNCHING THE NATIONAL MINERS UNION

By JOHN J. WATT
(President of the National Miners Union)



PAT TOOHEY, Secretary
Treasurer, National Miners'
Union.

THE National Miners Union is founded, though not without considerable struggle. The mine owners, their supporters among the officials of the United Mine Workers of America, and their supporters in city, county, state and national office all understood the importance to them of preventing a real, militant, rank and file union of coal miners. What they did not understand was that when thousands and tens of thousands of coal miners really want something, they are likely to get it, no matter what is done to stop them. Attack on the convention called to consider the organization of a new coal miners union was made by Lewis gangsters, and Pittsburgh police. It was preceded by a series of assassinations of delegates. It was followed by proclamations against the convention by the sheriff of Allegheny county, and the presence in the convention hall of sheriff's deputies, sent there to stop it. Following the convention, after the new union was organized, federal marshalls and post office inspectors, with the aid of state troopers, tried to put out of business the National Miners Relief, an organization which has been feeding the striking miners in the field, and which fed the starving delegates, just out of jail during the period when the convention had just adjourned, and the men could not make connections.

The fact that all of this opposition to the new union, and all of these attempts to cripple its friends have failed makes the National Miners Convention, Sept. 9-10, 1928, one of the most interesting, colorful, and hopeful chapters in labor history.

The convention was called by a conference of recently elected executives of Districts 5, 6 and 12, to-

gether with other well known miners, some of whom had been expelled from the U.M.W.A. for opposing the treachery of the Lewis machine in past years. This conference met in Pittsburgh, June 12, and issued a stirring call, pointing out that John L. Lewis had wrecked the union and lost the strike through a consistent treacherous policy of settling one district after another at cut rate wage scales with an absence of provisions for safety for the miners underground, total loss of most other conditions, no solution for the machine problem, etc. The conference pointed out that Lewis' tactics of dividing the miners into helpless separate district unions with separate contracts, forced in the future to scab on each other, forced now to take a defeat, was the end of the union. It showed that Lewis using gang rule and miscounting the votes in elections could not be dislodged by the rank and file in the union. And it argued from this that the union men should set up their own union, and leave Lewis stranded.

Difficulties of Arrangement

A National Miners Convention Arrangements Committee was established by the June 12 conference, with Pat Toohey, editor of the Coal Digger, and secretary of the National Save-the-Union Committee as secretary, and myself as chairman. The apparently impossible task was begun of organizing a convention which must have at least six hundred delegates to get a fair representation from the vast mining fields of America, some parts of them a thousand miles away from the center at Pittsburgh; a convention for which there was no money, a convention literally of starving men who had been through a seventeen month strike, who could with the greatest difficulty traverse these distances, a convention which had to be held in Andy Mellon's state, where the biggest scab coal company owner dominates all forms of government.



Outside the convention hall in Pittsburgh. Police and Lewis gangsters fraternized.

Some day some poet will write in verses of flame of the sacrifices that had to be made by those delegates, elected by locals constantly threatened with gangsterism by the Lewis machine, delegates four of whom fell under the bullets of assassins during the two weeks before the convention, delegates going without meals, and started on their way in auto trucks with gasoline bought by hundreds of rank and file miners in their localities who went without food to do it.

Some one will some day be able to adequately thank the countless thousands of workers in other lines of industry who saw the frantic appeal of the convention arrangements committee and donated their hard earned pittances to the great work. All I can say here is the bare fact—the necessary sums were raised, and the convention delegates, 675 of them, came into Pittsburgh. A thousand more were elected and could have come if there had been a few more dollars.

Death Did Not Stop It

The delegates arrived sobered with the news that Delegate Frank Bonita, brother of the Sam Bonita framed up for murder by the Lewis-Cappellini machine of District 1, had been murdered in his home in Wilkes Barre. A bloody challenge greeted them in Pittsburgh. Friday night, two days before the convention date, three delegates, George Moran, Charles Glovak, and Theodore Glovak were shot in a union meeting at Bentleyville by a Lewis spy, Louis Carboni, who was trying to prevent the local from adhering to the new union.

A day before the meeting of the convention,



Anthony Calamari, a delegate, approaching the hall, was blackjacked; see him lying in the street.



While Lewis gangsters were still beating Calamari, delegates in the hall prepared to charge to his defence and the slugs scurried away from him. He is still in the hospital with concussion of the brain.

scheduled for Labor Lyceum hall, the police superintendent refused to give a permit for it, tried to argue the arrangements committee into postponing it—postponing it with nearly 700 miners in town to take care of!

And news went around that the Lewis machine was mobilizing throughout the mining field, from West Virginia to Washington state, all of its gunmen and gangsters, on the payroll as organizers (organizers who never left the organized territories!) all of its officials who had nerve enough to come and face real miners.

In preparation for the onslaught, 400 delegates

went up to the convention hall during the night, Saturday, and waited there to hold it for the convention which was to meet at ten o'clock.

About nine o'clock some 200 Lewis organizers assembled around the hall. They were led by such officials of the Lewis union as:

Frank Hughes, International Organizer, Joe Angelo, International Organizer (not Joe Angelo of the National Miners Union), Heartneady, President District 7, Studdard, District 31 (West Virginia), Buzzarelli, Sub District Board Member, William Hynes, Sub District Board Member, John Cramarich, Field Worker District 5, Thomas Robertson, District 5 Organizer, and Vice President of the Pennsylvania-Ohio, State Federation of Labor, Bozo Damich, International Organizer and his son, William Stevenson, International Board Member of Michigan, Fred Gulick, Sub District Board Member, James Feeley, International Organizer, Rube Fern, International Organizer and former welter weight champion of the world, Henry Jones, his assistant, William Prentiss, International Organizer, Frank Hefferly, International Organizer, Jack Hassan, District Board Member, Frank Dobbins, District Organizer, William Dineen, International Organizer, Carl Wolcutt, District Organizer.

The fact that only 200 of these thugs could be secured by the Lewis machine in this crisis shows a definite collapse of morale on the part of his thousands of paid agents.

The gangsters tried to force their way into the hall, and got decidedly the worst of it. The Lewis slugs carried clubs and blackjacks, the delegates were unarmed, but had a high spirit. When the total of broken heads and loose teeth is counted, it will not be entirely on one side.

After losing their attack on the hall, the gangsters turned with the greatest ferocity to the dirty work of sniping individual delegates arriving alone and unprotected for the convention. Many were injured. One, Anthony Calamari, is, as this is written, still in a serious condition in Passavant hospital, with concussion of the brain. The Lewis sub-district organizer Buzzarelli jumped on his head after he had been knocked down with many blows, and the police were dragging him to the patrol wagon.

Police-Gangster Co-operation

Yes, the police followed the gangsters to the assault. No, Buzzarelli and the other Lewis slugs were not arrested, except here and there, one of them by accident. The Lewis gangsters wore large red-white-and-blue badges, and when police saw sluggers so identified beating up a delegate, they waited patiently until the delegate was down, and then arrested the victim, never his attackers.

The police charged into the hall, where by this time the delegates were quietly seated, with the doors closed, waiting for the call to order from the chair-

man. The police shouted, "We want the leaders," and drove the delegates from the hall. Stationed in the entrance way, they began a period of arrests which continued down the streets wherever delegates walked, and was followed by a series of raids on the hotels where they were quartered by districts. All they found in hotels were arrested. Some were beaten up by Lewis gangsters with the police.

In all 120 delegates were arrested, including the West Virginia delegation which arrived in the middle of the day, when all was quiet at Labor Lyceum and walked into the hall, and into the hands of the police still occupying it. They could have had absolutely nothing to do with the fight. Here we see the police tactics exposed. They were trying to stop the convention. Though they charged all arrested with felony, to keep them in jail over Sunday (in Pennsylvania such charges can not be bailed on Sunday) they released them all the next day, some with trifling fines, as soon as they found that the convention had been held.

Determined on Convention

For the convention was held. Oh yes. Miners do not come so far for nothing. Within a few hours after the Labor Lyceum was lost to the police all the unarrested delegates were on their way to East Pittsburgh, two hours' trolley ride from Pittsburgh, another town, but in the same county. There Sunday afternoon, with about 500 delegates present, in the Workers Home, with the secretary of the arrangements committee on the platform, I had the honor of calling the first session of the National Miners Convention to order. Both of the officers of the arrangements committee had evaded arrest at the Labor Lyceum by a process of quick changing of hats, caps and coats, and some lively dodging.

The convention was not exactly secret, for the Workers Home is like the Biblical "house that is set on an hill" and it could not have been hidden if we had wished. We merely relied on the known stupidity of police and gangsters, when faced with an unusual situation, and calculated on shortening the agenda, and rushing through the main business before we could be attacked again. The arrangements committee worked ceaselessly bringing in the delegates, and arranging for most of them to stay in East Pittsburgh.

Oratory was largely dispensed with. Everybody knew the situation. Resolutions submitted from all parts of the mining country were turned over to committees elected that afternoon and night. The first session adjourned at midnight, and if we had found the militia in charge of the hall the next morn-

ing, and all of us arrested, we could still have said that the main purpose of the convention had been accomplished. For the National Miners Union was launched at that first session, and a complete set of officers elected, as well as the main lines of organization and policy agreed upon.

The Workers Own Union

Although the committee on constitution was still working for hours later on the draft of the document, the convention had specified that there should be a democratic union, with the basis resting on the pit or mine committees, elected by the men in each mine. Locals are based on these committees. The committees themselves are the grievance boards, taking up with the management of the mines directly all cases of injustice to miners working there, thus doing away with all the hierarchy of "courts" which the Lewis Administration established to cheat the miners and aid the management.

Whether or not sub-district grievance committees shall be formed is a matter left entirely to the various districts themselves to decide. However, it is suggested that sub-district and district boards be formed so as to handle the problems where one or more mines in or out of the sub-district are involved in a dispute over contract matters.

There is to be sub-district and district administration, to be established by conventions called in the districts. In the higher boards, the locals are represented proportionally to their size. No more "blue sky" or "paper" locals. Officers are subject to easy recall. No more machine rule. Officers may also be charged and prosecuted before their own local union or by their membership directly, not as in the old J.M.W.A. where charges are preferred at the executive officers' boards.

The officers elected were a National President, myself; a vice president, Wm. Boyce (a Negro miner from Indiana) and a secretary-treasurer, Pat Toohey. There is also a National Executive Board, with limited powers subject to referendum of the membership, composed of one man from each district, elected in the first case by delegates from his own district.

The first Board is composed of:

District 1, Frank Vrataric; 2, Charles Killinger; 5, Anthony Calamari (or in case he cannot serve because of the injuries inflicted on him by Lewis thugs, Isaiah Hawkins); 6, Robert Matusick; 7, John Daly; 9, Carl Herman; 11 James Stimson; 12, Freeman Thompson; 13, Frank Hendley; 14, John Hunter; 15, J. Budnikoff; 23, Daniel Wilcox and from the unorganized fields, Tony Minerich and Vincent Kamenovich.

All these men are real miners, who have made their living by digging coal all their lives. All of them are



WM. BOYCE, Vice President National Miners' Union

staunch militants, with long histories of struggle against the Lewis machine, and activity in strikes.

The officers are guided by the decisions of the convention. The statement of policy adopted by the convention begins by analysing the starvation of the miners and the profits of the companies, rationalization, speed-up, more machinery, and open shop, and shows how the Lewis bureaucracy in the United Mine Workers has cooperated completely with this employers' policy, smashing unions, betraying strikers, signing one district at a time, separating anthracite from soft coal, losing the strike and abandoning the Jacksonville scale. The statement of policy says:

"John L. Lewis and his corrupt clique can no longer speak in the name of the coal miners. We call upon the rank and file in all the fields to refuse to recognize any wage cut agreements signed by them. Fight against the check off and thereby destroy their hope to keep you enslaved to the company union. Break completely with the Lewis machine and join the National Miners Union.

"We solemnly declare to use every ounce of our energy to fight to the last to remove every obstacle to build an organization to comprise the whole of the rank and file coal miners. An industrial organization taking into its membership all men employed in and around the mines, except the bosses. Within our ranks we welcome the colored miner as well as the white, the foreign born miner as well as the American. We pledge ourselves to fight for complete equality for all, in every respect, regardless of race or nationality."

The policy of the new union is to struggle without pause for better hours and wages, for a labor party, and in solidarity with all other struggling workers. The eventual aim is complete emancipation from capitalist exploitation.

The business of the convention, at least in all essential details was sufficiently finished by two

o'clock Monday afternoon, so that when the deputies of the sheriff of Allegheny County arrived, closely preceded by a gang of Lewis sluggers riding high powered cars and armed with wrenches and black-jacks, we could afford to adjourn. There was complete calm among the delegates at the belated declaration of the sheriff's deputies that no such convention could be held in this county. It was a calm tempered with a certain amount of exultation. After all of the hell of the preceding few days, the sheriff's action came as a kind of an anti-climax; Andy Mellon and the big bosses had locked the stable door after their old time work horses, the miners, were gone, kicking up their heels in freedom. The Lewis sluggers did not dare attack the delegates when they marched out, an hour later, having stopped to eat the good dinner provided in the kitchens of the Workers Home.

No More Objection

Without much trouble the authorities of Pittsburgh consented to the continuation of the convention, when belabored by a committee of prominent Pittsburgh citizens who had a feeling that even Mellon's state belongs to the U.S.A., and that some sort of freedom of assemblage and speech was at least theoretically prescribed by the U. S. constitution. Why shouldn't the police permit the convention now? The convention was over; every repressive power had been used except the navy, and they had all failed. The authorities yielded late, but gracefully.

The convention and the first meeting of the National Executive Board the next day took time off to answer some slanders poured upon them by an old enemy of the workers, Vice President Murray of the so-called United Mine Workers of America. Murray said in the Pittsburgh press that the delegates, these starving miners, were all Reds and that they were stealing relief money. The convention pointed out that every variety of political opinion was present at the convention, which was not a political but a union meeting, and that the money did not come from relief funds but from the workers directly. It also called attention to the fact that Lewis drew his thousand dollars a month and about a thousand a month in "expenses" through the whole strike while the miners starved, and that Murray and all Lewis officials profited on the strikers in proportional measure. "People who live in glass houses shouldn't throw stones."

John Brophy, resigned some time ago as chairman of the Save-the-Union Committee, the organized form of the opposition to Lewis within the U.M.W.A. which committee had come heart and soul behind the movement to organize the new union, issued a statement condemning Lewis, but opposing the new union,

on the grounds that it would divide labor. As if Lewis did not do that most effectively! The National Executive Board in its answer explained the situation, and challenged Brophy to find a place for the thousands of miners Lewis drove from the union, as well as the 350,000 he had always refused to organize, also to find a way to stop Lewis misleadership as long as he could count the votes.

Now The Real Fight Starts

Our policy as it works out, the results of the district conventions which will come soon, and our treatment of such important questions as unemployment, mining machines, the youth, Negro miners and women of miners' families, international solidarity, labor party, wages and conditions, organization of the unorganized, grievances, check off, etc., on all of which the convention adopted resolutions, or prepared resolutions and turned them over to the board, must be left for a later article. It is enough to say here that we are not following the Lewis policy of crushing 300,000 miners out of the industry as superfluous, we are giving membership and all of its rights to all races, creeds and colors of workers, we are against the check-off which goes now to the Lewis machine.

What is the present situation? Well, we have made a beginning. The miners as a whole (there are 800,000 or thereabouts) are not in the Lewis union. They are joining our union by whole locals, and as individuals. Seven thousand who had not yet repudiated Lewis in Illinois, the old stronghold of the U.M.W.A., have gone on a strike against the Lewis-Fishwick administration's reduction of their wages from \$7.50 a day to \$6.10 (only a few days a week work). In the anthracite the McGarry independentist movement against Lewis, which did not line up with the National Miners Union has been expelled by Lewis, and all is confusion. We are making an especial appeal to these anthracite workers not to be fooled by Lewis propaganda, or local leaders, and to join with the main stream of the miners' movement, the National Miners Union. Our headquarters are in Pittsburgh, a coal center, the center of the U. S. fields geographically, not in such a non-mining town as Indianapolis, where Lewis hangs out. The National Miners Union is hard at work, it is growing fast, its road is a rough one, but it is the only road for miners who want their own union, and who are determined to force concessions from the operators.

"NO SELLOUT- NO COMPROMISE"

The Left Wing New Bedford Textile
Workers Union Fights The A. F.
of L. Attempt to Sell Out the
Textile Strike



Some of The Strikers of the New Bedford Textile Workers Union, and Textile Mill Committees who made history in this mill town.

By AMY SCHECHTER

THE clash between the labor traitors and the militant left wing appears in its sharpest and most dramatic form in the struggle of the New Bedford Textile Workers Union to halt the sellout that the United Textile Workers officials are trying to put across. After weeks of dickering with the millowners behind closed doors, today the Batty-Binns-Riviere combination running the United Textile Workers Union in New Bedford, with McMahon's blessing, are openly bending every effort to rush through a strike sellout at Cotton Manufacturers' Association orders. Throwing aside all pretenses, the bureaucrats of the Textile Council are openly taking their proper place among the hirelings of the bosses, lining up side by side with the police, press, Judges and businessmen "public" in the millowners' strike-breaking drive.

Weeks ago for the majority of the New Bedford millowners it became imperative to end the strike. The amount of work that could be given out to mills in Fall River and other towns cannot resolve a situation tying up over half the spindles in the country's fine cotton goods industry. The smaller mills were going under. Forced to cancel all orders as the strikers continued to show a solid front month after month, liquidation or removal was indicated for a number of the smaller millmen.

Political considerations also made for strike settlement. Senator William Butler, Chairman of the National Committee of the Republican Party has the

largest mill interests in New Bedford; and with election time drawing near it was not particularly healthy for the Republicans to have an acute strike situation going on where he could be seen to be largely responsible. Above all, the millowners wanted to hasten settlement before Batty had so completely lost prestige with the strikers and left wing influence reached such a point that he would no longer be able to deliver the goods when the time for sellout came.

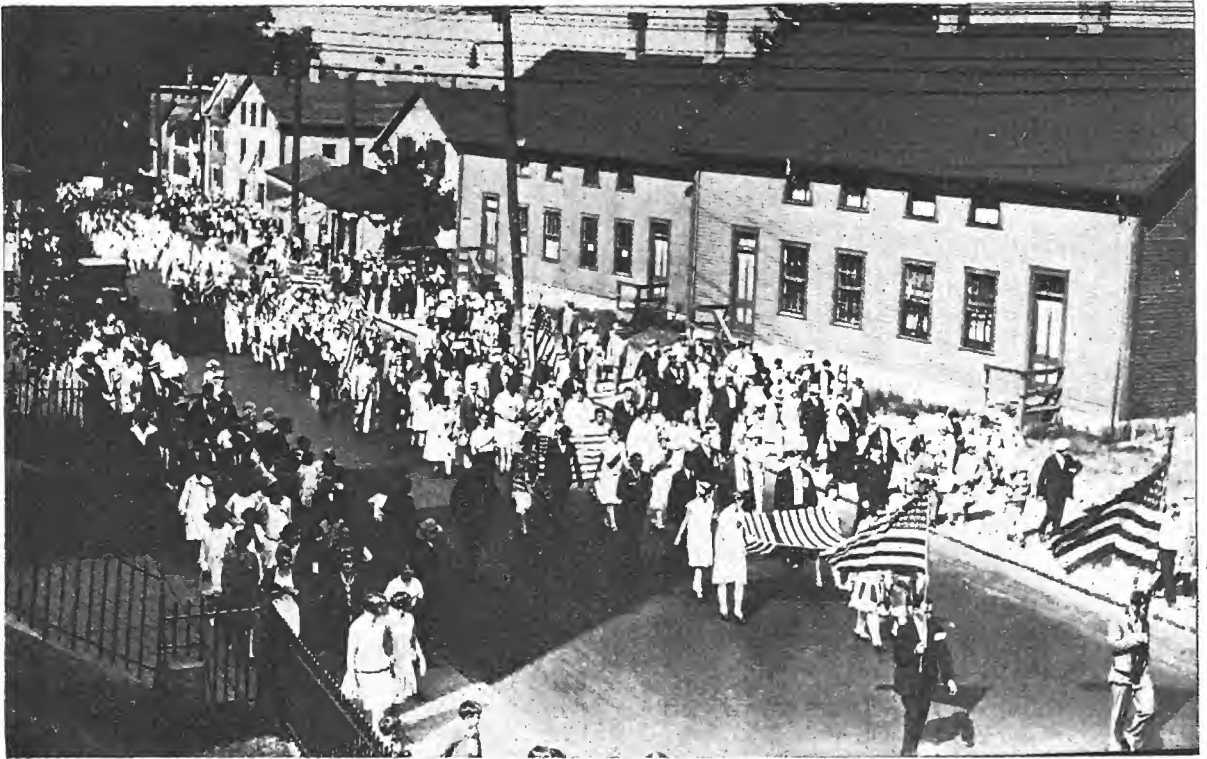
From the beginning the manufacturers feared the leftward swing of the strikers. A. Talmage, New Bedford textile expert and correspondent for the national textile press, remarkably keen in his analysis of the textile situation, wrote as far back as last July:

"There is no question of the influence of these radical leaders over their followers while the strike is on. Some have been wondering how long it would take for these followers to be weaned away from their leaders, even if the manufacturers and Textile Council should come to an agreement...

"To put it more boldly still, both the conservative union leaders and the manufacturers realize now that due to the presence of such active and well organized radical leadership, the situation is getting more out of control with each successive week of idleness...

"If the strike continues for any considerable period, they can very well visualize a situation in which it will be useless for the millmen and the Textile Council to come to any agreement because of inability to get the bulk of operatives to accept the terms agreed upon..."

Officially the millowners have tried to ignore the existence of the New Bedford Textile Workers Union. Every time the Massachusetts State Board



Head of the great Labor Day Parade, when 20,000 striking textile workers marched through the streets of New Bedford, in spite of militia and police.

of Arbitration and Conciliation has come into the field to attempt strike settlement the T. M. C. leaders have been barred from the hearings. But actually, the bosses have been forced to acknowledge the T. M. C. as the leading factor in the situation, not only determining the course of its own members and the strikers still unorganized, but of Batty's skilled craftsman membership as well, many of whom have left Batty and joined the T. M. C. ranks.

When the T. M. C. mass picketed the mills, Batty's members overcame his violent objections, and forced him to make a gesture in the direction of mass picketing. When the T. M. C. threw a line of thousands round the Kilburn Mill where scabs were reported to be entering by night and maintained it for 36 hours, Batty's



Jesse Troia of Fall River, Mass., is one of the militants so frequently arrested in the present textile strike. He is also secretary of a newly organized International Labor Defense Branch.

members insisted on picketing alongside the T. M. C. despite Batty's frantic pleadings with them to obey the police and go home to bed. When Batty referred arbitration on the 10% cut to his locals, in August, urging them to accept, his membership followed the lead of the T. M. C. which denounced arbitration as a sell-out, unanimously voting it down, even the reserved British millworkers who form such a large part of his membership, participating in a rousing anti-arbitration demonstration at the polling places.

At the end of July, when the terror tactics instituted to break the solid strike front failed to accomplish their purpose—when mass arrests, black-jacking, clubbing on the line and in jail, savage sentences, deportation threats failed to

drive the strikers back into the mills—the millowners turned to class collaboration tactics, seeking the aid of the U.T.W. bureaucrats to trick the strikers back into the mills. The yellow socialists who have been thronging round the Textile Council all through the strike, hoping to gain some prestige for their moribund organization by helping the labor fakers fight the militants and carry on a nice respectable strike endorsed by the Nation and all the liberals, gladly did their bit for the millowners. A lengthy appeal for class collaboration and “efficiency” in industry, appeared in the press, signed by Frank Manning, one of the leading Socialist lights, acting as “confidential secretary” to the council throughout the strike, and the U.T.W. officials.

Large doses of class collaboration propaganda were administered at Council meetings, and finally Batty openly submitted the so-called “Frieder” socialization plan to the Manufacturers’ Association through the Citizens Mediation Committee. Previously he had gone to Governor Fuller, murderer of Sacco and Vanzetti, for aid in getting a hearing for the scheme.

Strict silence has been maintained regarding the details of the plan till the present moment by all parties concerned in putting across the sellout. Batty’s own members, demanding information from their officials have been refused.

The New Bedford Textile Workers Union, however, knew what the Frieder Plan meant and broadcast its knowledge among the workers. Leonard P. Frieder, author of the Plan, is manager and vice-president of the National Spun Silk Company in New Bedford, and has spent years applying speedup to the textile industry. In his New Bedford mill weavers run 12 looms. In place of the 4 to 6 in other local silk mills, vicious speedup prevails throughout the plant, and pay is far below the average for the same work in other mills. The mill is 100% open shop, all suspected of union affiliation being fired.

The union launched a vigorous attack on the Plan, and on Batty’s attempt to sellout the strike on a basis which would mean a greater wage-cut than the 10% against which the millworkers had struck, and called upon the strikers to fight it to a finish.

The millowners replied by a violent campaign of vilification against the union. Preachers of all denominations exhorted the strikers to follow their “authorized leaders.” The Rotarians got on the job, a speaker declaring at their meeting that “taking up an alleyway and beating into insensibility was the best way of dealing with these agitators.” “Mudlarks,” “ragtag and bobtail,” “scum of the earth,” spluttered the Mercury, leading local millowners’ paper. The Evening Standard said:

“It is hardly necessary to suggest to the Textile Council that the vaporings of these radical agitators should be ignored. The community despises and distrusts them, and the authorized union leaders, in their handling of the situation, should proceed without reference to disturbers who have no regard to the welfare of the city... the cry of sellout is born of a desire to prevent a settlement of the strike... It is malicious and without foundation, and the public, we are certain, generally realizes the fact and looks to the Textile Council for such leadership as will insure a careful consideration of all proposals aimed at bringing the struggle to an end...”

On the night of September 7th, the Manufacturers Association held the first official meeting with Batty to discuss settlement on a speedup basis. The N.B. T.W.U. threw a picketline around the New Bedford Hotel where the conference was held. Scores of Batty’s members gathered around, some participating, some sympathetically watching the demonstration.

The following day the marching feet of 20,000 strikers hammered out the “No Sellout—No Compromise” slogan of the T.M.C. The great parade with its outpouring of enthusiasm, and its sure mass strength, was a sign of leftwing grip on the strike the millowners could not ignore any more than the A.F. of L. bankruptcy shown in the limp little craft-divided procession of Batty forces—well under a thousand—held the same day.

Everything indicated the need for rushing through the sellout, if Batty was to have anything to sell, or at least could still be used effectively to split the strikers’ ranks. To make the demand for the “Frieder Plan” appear a concession to the strikers, and give Batty a chance to make a belated gesture of militancy which might regain him the confidence of his members, the millowners began a shadow boxing display, demanding the 10% cut, in addition to the speedup, which Batty unconditionally refused.” This shadow-boxing still continues, with the demand reduced to 5%, as this goes to press.

If the strike resistance is to continue despite the sellout, labor must back up the struggle with relief and defense. Next month 500 of the most militant T.M.C. members and all the organizers will be up for trial in the Superior Court in New Bedford. Massachusetts justice will do everything in its power to railroad at least the leaders and picket captains and strike committee members to prison.

A strong protest must be made by the whole workingclass of the country if the millworkers fighting to build a strong union in their industry are to be saved from serving the vicious sentences meted out by the millowners’ judge. With the left wing workers in other industries supporting the strike, the isolation into which the millowners will force the strikers after the sellout will be offset, and the strike will be won.

The Textile Workers Organize Their Union

By

SAM WISEMAN
(Organizer at Fall River)



JAMES P. REID

To the left Jim Reid, hero of many strikes now president of the National Textile Workers Union; to the right Weisbord, leader of Passaic strike, now Secretary of the N.T.W.U.



ALBERT WEISBORD

A million textile workers in the United States, starving and harrassed by speed up systems, one after another, and wage cuts, one after another, is a compelling reason for a textile union. The fact that only 20,000 of these workers are in unions, that they are in many dual and conflicting unions, that these unions are for the most part, reactionary, and betrayed by as fine a gang of labor fakers as ever existed, by McMahon, Batty, Tansey, Riviere, Binns and other such persons, fattening on their good salaries while "co-operating" with the employers to worsen conditions and lower the standards of living of the workers, is a reason for a new textile union, one the workers can control, one union to take the place of the chaos of mis-organization and disorganization that existed until the National Textile Union was formed at a great convention in New York City, Sept. 22 and 23rd, 1928.

Passaic, New Bedford and Fall River have shown that the textile workers are militant and ready to fight. Batty and McMahon and their sort have proved that the old organizations will not let them fight if they can help it.

Mill Committees Issue Call

So a call for the convention was issued by the Textile Mill Committees, in July. It was addressed to all organizations, clubs, and committees. The response exceeded all expectations. In spite of the action of the Fall River police, hounding textile delegates who were leaving on trucks for the convention and the treachery of the buss company at New Bedford

that was to bring delegates, which backed out of its agreement at the last minute, forcing the delegates to depart secretly, a good representation was secured from all the 20 principal mills of Fall River and from 56 mills of New Bedford. New Jersey (in which lies Passaic) sent 35; New York sent 13; and there were delegates from Rhode Island, Connecticut, Philadelphia, and other places.

Almost 20,000 organized textile workers were represented at this convention from the cotton, woolen and worsted, silk and knit goods sections of the industry. It can very easily be said that the immediate influence of the new union spreads to at least 50,000 textile workers in seven states and twenty-one of the most important textile cities.

Most of the delegates from Fall River and New Bedford had jail sentences ranging up to two and a half years for picketing; many of them being arrested eight and ten times.

Analyze The Problems

A militant tone was set for the convention from the very begining when, Albert Weisbord, Nat. Sec. of the T.M.C. read the call to the convention. While the credentials committee was in session he presented a complete analysis of the textile industry in all its phases, showing what are the handicaps and what are the possibilities for effective struggle against the textile barons.

Many organizations greeted the delegates, all militant class organizations of the workers, the Workers International Relief, the International Labor Defense,

the National Miners Union, the new fur workers union, the Workers (Communist) Party of America, and the Trade Unions of Soviet Union sent their greetings by cable.

In contra-distinction to the conventions of reactionaries to which the labor fakers invite efficiency experts of the boss, representatives of the Church and of the capitalist state to greet and poison the minds of any rank and file delegates there happen to be present, at this convention the class lines were drawn sharply without any compromise.

They Needed A Union

Reports given by the delegates from the different centres, showed wage cuts, speed-up, unemployment, great suffering for the families of the textile workers accompanied in almost every case by betrayal after betrayal of the workers by their misleaders.

Representatives from 9 locals of the old textile workers' unions, representatives as observers from two other locals were a definite sign that the textile workers realize the danger of these misleaders; many more locals will join the new union.

Forty per cent of the delegates were young workers showing a willingness on their part to lead with courage and spirit the new battles of the textile workers. Almost 30 delegates were women, showing the awakening of the textile workers to the role that women play in the industry.

Children from the mills, children of strikers 13 and 14 years old spoke with arising class consciousness at the convention, symbolizing the arising class consciousness of the American working youth.

Four committees were formed: women, youths, resolutions and policy and constitution. For hours these committees met and hammered out programs of action, and policies to be presented to the convention.

The resolutions and policy committee presented resolutions, supporting the W.I.R. and I.L.D., on Sacco and Vanzetti, for the release of Mooney and Billings, on the Labor Party and many others.

A resolution on the educational activities of the new union called for:

1. A national paper for textile workers.
2. Shop papers in every mill.
3. A national school to be conducted by the union.
4. Special classes in all centres.
5. Libraries, theatricals, etc., to provide for the cultural life of the textile workers.

Resolutions on organization work called for an immediate organization drive especially in the South; provided for dividing into districts and the placing of district organizers to conduct organization work; called for the building of rank and file organization committees, and laying down the principal: "Every

member of the union an organizer for the union."

A resolution on unemployment dealt with the problem concretely, not academically as is done by the reactionaries, not for efficiency schemes, but for the mobilization of all textile workers, unemployed as well as employed, to join in one struggle against the capitalist class and pointed out concretely how to complete this important task.

The women's committee reported on the importance of women in the textile industry, how they are being mobilized, plans for the future, showing how to connect the struggle of the women textile workers in the mill together with those wives of the textile workers who are not working in the mills. There was enthusiastic response to the report. The men participated in the discussion as well as the women, showing how they realize the importance of organizing the women.

The youth committee reported 61 youth delegates present. A great achievement. The committee presented resolutions on sports, against the coming imperialist war, for the defense of the First Workers Republic. The report of this committee was received with the most wonderful response.

A report on children's work, showed how the children, those working in the mills, as well as those not in the mill, were mobilized for the struggle of the textile workers, and the important role that they play in these struggles.

The constitution committee reported: (1.) Aims of the new union: to get the highest possible advancement for the textile workers. (2.) Policy of the new union: to be a policy of class struggle, against those who exploit us, as against the class collaboration policy of the old reactionary unions. (3.) That the basic unit of the new union will be the mill taking all workers in the mill into the union. This report showing how the new union will function on industrial lines with a flexible structure was greeted with cheers from the delegates.

Unanimous Agreement

All the resolutions and recommendations of the committees were accepted unanimously. It is impossible in this short article to write of all proposals of the different committees. Suffice to say, that the committees gave to the convention the correct line to proceed in building the new union.

After the delegates had acted on all reports elections took place. All nominated for president withdrew in favor of James P. Reid, an old new militant fighter who was the first president of the National Textile Workers Union 30 years ago, leader of many strikes, and organizer in Fall River in the present strike, one who has always been an uncompromising

fighter for the working class, and amid great cheers lasting many minutes he was elected President of the New National Textile Workers Union.

Albert Weisbord, leader of the great Passaic Strike was elected General Secretary amid great enthusiasm. Gus Deak of Passaic was elected first Vice President. Ellen Dawson, William Murdoch, of New Bedford, second and third Vice-President.

A National Council of 35, representing the most important centers of the most proven militant fighters, was elected to lead the New Textile Workers Union in struggle against the employers who have driven their conditions down so low with the aid of the bosses agents in the ranks of the labor movement.

Hard And Winning Fight

The road that the N.T.W.U. is to travel is not one of roses. The handicaps that the joint forces of the employers, the state, and the misleaders of labor will place before us, we have already seen, and had experience with. Now we can expect that the fear of the bosses for a real fighting union that the textile workers have built will drive them in their desperation to make still stronger attacks.

But these fighters have proven in Passaic, Lawrence, New Bedford, and Fall River, that with this leadership they will overcome all the handicaps and

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will really build the N.T.W.U. so that it will have within its ranks all of the 1,100,000 textile workers conducting a ceaseless struggle not only in the interests of the textile workers but of the whole working class. Long live the N.T.W.U.! Long live the working class!



M. MALKIN

THE MINEOLA CASE AGAIN

By M. MALKIN

THE Mineola case is coming to the front again, with the argument before a higher court very soon of the appeal from conviction and sentence to prison of Otto Lenhardt, Jack Schneider, Oscar Meiliff, George Weiss, Morris Katz, Samuel Mencher, Martin Rosenberg, Leo Franklin, and myself. All of these workers were given 2½ to 5 years sentences after a viciously unfair trial, in which the right wing of the furriers' union assisted the prosecution, and in which an attempt was also made to convict Ben Gold and Isadore Shapiro.

All of these workers were charged, on the testimony of a scab shop owner, a couple of his scab workers, and the "squealer" Bassoff, with attacking the shop owner during the great furriers' strike of 1926. Bassoff who was originally charged, had been a scab who later joined the union, professing a change of heart, and who apparently turned states evidence, either to save himself the danger of a trial, or for some other reward. He is said to have gone with the employer-right wing detectives through the market to pick the victims for arrest.

The trial was in April, 1927, and the main purpose of

the trial was evidently to "get" some Lefts. None of the evidence against the furriers was worth anything, and that against Gold and Shapiro was so very flimsy as to fail of convicting.

Mary Farkas, the principal witness for the prosecution, identified anybody brought before her, not only those accused of attacking the shop owner, but also eight more, who had never been in Rockville Center, the site of the shop. Detective Benj. Grebe, another star for the prosecution admitted that he spent plenty of time in the right wing union headquarters, "working on the case".

The hand of the right wing, and of officials of the A. F. L. bureaucracy was evident throughout the trial. They sent documents to the prosecution, proving that the workers were left wingers, trying to make a case of sedition against the U. S. out of the trial.

The defendants, after being held in Mineola jail for six weeks, were released on a certificate of reasonable doubt, handed down by Justice Mitchell May, accompanied by a statement from the judge that it was the most prejudiced case he had ever heard of in his career. When the case got to the appellate division in Brooklyn, a delay of two months resulted, and then there was a refusal of a new trial, and an order to take the men back to jail. A new certificate of reasonable doubt came from Judge Leihman, and there will be a re-arguing of the demand for a new trial this month.



EVA SHAFRAN

WHAT ABOUT THE MILLINERY?

By EVA SHAFRAN

IN the millinery trade the world-wide fight against misleaders of labor is on. But before going into this chapter of the story it is necessary to understand the industry, to realize the problems confronting us.

After a process of calculation,* we may say that the number of employees throughout the United States is between 32,000 and 35,000. The value of products per year in United States is \$10,012,279. So we see that the trade is not such a poor one.**

The most important centers of millinery work are: New York, \$126,119,003 valuation of product; Illinois, \$21,012,279; Missouri, \$12,734,221; California, \$4,143,221; then Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, followed by every other state in lesser degree.

The trade is perhaps not one per cent organized, except for New York, where 16,000 to 18,000 workers are sixty-five percent organized: operators eighty percent, blockers eighty and trimmers forty. There are probably seven to eight thousand union members now; the American Labor Year Book gives 10,200 for 1927, figures from union officials.

The millinery trade has a great number of women workers; 8,000 in New York, and, though exact figures cannot be had for the rest of the country, we can say there are thirty-five to forty percent women. They are mostly young girls.

Mechanization plays only a small part in the industry. Its problems are those of changing styles. At present great unemployment is due to the use of felt hats instead of novelties of silk and velvet, which require more work than felt. In a "novelty" the cutter cuts the material, sewing machines are used by the operators and the trimmers and blockers perform their tasks on it. The felt has only to be blocked and trimmed.

Zaritsky, president of the Cloth Hat, Cap and Mil-

linery Workers Union is just a labor bureaucrat, like many others, but has been able for a longer time to fool his rank and file into believing him "progressive" if not even "revolutionary." The struggle in the Millinery union is therefore not advanced to the stage it has reached in other needle trades. The left wing, as the leader, is fighting, nevertheless, to prevent the union from disintegrating and to keep it a real workers' union instead of a company union, which last is the goal of Zaritsky and his gang. Zaritsky's mask of "progressivism" has been somewhat damaged by his attitude in the general struggle of lefts and rights in the needle trades and the rest of the labor movement.

Specific trade issues are also involved. The millinery workers, through hard struggles in the past, won the "week" system of work, instead of the competitive "piece work" system.

Organizing The Enemy

Zaritsky, however, has a desire to be a great president, to deal with "real bosses" instead of "cockroaches," so he has not only encouraged, but has actually assisted the formation of a bosses' association in the cap trade, and later wanted to do the same thing in the millinery trade. Zaritsky's friendship to the bosses, with whom he continually hobnobs, went to the extent of fighting against the workers for a return of piecework in both cap and millinery trades, for a collective agreement in millinery. He seems to have thought he would not have a very hard time putting through his policies, but he was fooled. A great counter attack came from the real workers, and the left wing began to grow stronger and stronger.

Local 43, trimmers, of New York, made up of 4,000 girls, was organized by the left wing in the industry. It grew to this number from 200 in one year's time, after the old fossilised leaders had given up all hope of organizing the girls. There were great possibilities of organizing all the workers in this branch of the trade in New York, about 8,000 girls. Boston Local 7 was for years controlled by left wing workers, and was the cream of the labor movement there. In Chicago and in Canada the left wing had leadership and great influence. In other New York locals,

* Days of work on government and state publications fail to show accurate figures. In the census of manufactures the millinery industry is combined with lace making, and in the census of population, millinery workers are lumped in with the dealers in millinery. The figure above is secured by a process of eliminating the lace goods workers, and by adding up the number of employees estimated in the different states according to the value of products there, and taking New York, where the numbers are better known, as a basis.

** The value of fur products, for instance, is \$254,265,708, and we may here point out that the number of workers is known; there are 22,908. Fur is one of the smaller needle trades, though the value of products per piece is greater than in the millinery industry, for which 35,000 workers is, therefore, not an unreasonable guess.

nests of the right wing, the lefts were steadily gaining.

Zaritsky saw his position menaced and his policies in danger. Therefore he and his group decided to either get control of the trimmers or crush the local. They also decided to crush the Boston local and its left wing leadership. They sold out the Chicago workers to the cap manufacturers, surrendering the strike led by the left wing, to discredit the left wing leadership.

The general executive board of the union was needed to officially sanction these acts in order to preserve the reactionary control and protect the bosses' interests. So first of all it was necessary for Zaritsky to excommunicate all "evil spirits" on the G.E.B. in order to have these motions unanimously adopted, G.E.B. member Saltzberg, who would have fought all these union smashing schemes to the bitter end, as he also did in the past, was kicked off the G.E.B. and eliminated as general manager in Chicago, a position to which the machine itself had sent him a short time before.

Then came the breaking of Local 43. The local was suspended and a scab local of the international union was organized. At present the members of Local 43 are waging a heroic fight against the employers, who, at the request of the international and the reactionary Local 24 of New York have discharged trimmers in several shops. The leadership of Local 24 is sending scabs against the girls of Local 43, just as the A.F.L. bureaucracy sent scabs to strike-break against the millinery workers in 1917 because

of a jurisdictional dispute with the Hatters, then opposed by Zaritsky himself.

Local 7 of Boston was broken up by the machine, a company union local being organized, and the president of the international, fearing an insurrection from within his own local, asking for an injunction against the workers, asking this from the "justice" of Massachusetts courts, the same "justice" that slew Sacco and Vanzetti.

A Faker Exposed

By all of these actions, the Zaritsky group has exposed itself in its true light. The cap and millinery workers now see the danger that is facing them if this Zaritsky machine remains unchallenged, and their voice in opposition grows ever more powerful. The machine is now frightened enough to begin to play the game of "tolerance." But the machine has broken locals, aligned with the bosses, used the police, scabs, and courts. It is adopting the Sigman policies of expulsion, throwing workers out of their jobs, and robbing them of their daily bread.

This will surely not frighten the thousands of cap and millinery workers. On the contrary, it will strengthen their ranks and raise their fighting spirit against the attempt of the machine to change the once militant working class organization into a company union, and they will struggle unceasingly to make it serve the interests of the workers, not those of their employers and a corrupt machine.

What The Canton Steel Strike Means

By I. AMTER

ON August 6, 500 steel workers in Canton, working for the Central Alloy Steel Corporation, went out on strike. These 500 men comprised 400 chippers and 100 grinders.

They have quit work before. On July 25, they were getting 52½¢ an hour plus bonus and were earning between \$6-\$7 a day. Without a word of notice, they were cut 45¢ an hour and they laid down their work. On July 27, they returned to work, on the promise of Mr. Seldon, the superintendent, who raised the scale to 55¢ an hour, but modified the bonus. What this would mean they could not tell, till August 6, when, although they were assured that they would earn the same amount of wages, they discovered that they were earning \$4.40 a day—working eight hours—plus about 50¢ bonus. This was too much and they walked out again.

The men gathered in a hall, elected a strike com-

mittee of twelve, the strike committee elected a small committee of five, and they proceeded to strike.

The men have put up their demands which are: \$6 for an 8 hour day, abolition of the bonus system, removal of Mr. Seldon, the superintendent and recognition of the Mill Committee. Daily meetings are being held and the spirit of the men remains fine.

No Excuse For Cut

The steel industry is operating at between 75-80 per cent capacity. There has not been the usual summer lull, but production has kept up, and profits are made.

The Central Alloy Steel Corporation, where the strike is in progress, is in a unique position with two plants, one in Canton and one in Massillon, and is turning out steel for airplanes.

The airplane industry is one of the new industries,

whose significance cannot be underestimated. This year 15,000 airplanes will have been built in the United States. These airplanes are nominally for commercial purposes, but when, according to statements of leading airplane experts, a commercial airplane can be converted into a bombing plane in a few hours, then one understands that this industry is also a WAR industry.

The Central Alloy Steel Corporation produces 95% of all the steel required for countershafts and other parts of the motors for airplanes.

U. S. Government Gets In

This explains why the Department of Labor of the United States sent Mr. Foulkner, of the Dept. of Labor, to Canton to negotiate a settlement, but his attitude was so unfriendly that the men would not accept his proposals. He did consult with the company, and departing from Canton without seeing the men, he notified them from Cleveland, that he had consulted with the Central Alloy but they refused to deal with the Mill Committee.

Chippers and grinders are in a strategic position in the steel industry. No steel can be used for production unless it passes through the hands of the chippers and grinders. Their work is not only important but also difficult and hard. The men use compressed air tools with a pressure of 350 lbs. The use of the tool is difficult, and during the first two weeks when a man works in this department his hands swell up, and only a few men remain. The tool likewise rests on one leg, and it also swells up. For this reason, aside from the skill that is needed in getting smooth surfaces, it is hard to get scabs. The men realized their position and therefore did not hesitate to go out.

Not that the company has not tried to get scabs. They procured them in Pittsburgh, Youngstown, Cleveland. Six hundred have passed through the plant, but only 150 have remained. These scabs are afforded a protection from the law. Only six of the old men in the department remained at work, all others being imported. Still production has slowed down considerably, owing to the fact that no proper chipping and grinding work was being done.

Authorities Persecute Strikers

How have the city authorities acted in this strike? In the usual manner. Up to this writing, 29 of the men have been arrested, three of them fined and sent to the workhouse. There have been other convictions on the charge of "suspicion," which covers a multitude of sins and fake charges. The immigration authorities have been active, and held 6 men; of these two, whose status was dubious, they allowed out, while the others, who are active in the strike, are

under bond. On the other hand, Arabs who have been brought in as scabs, have been unmolested, although it is clear that the status of these men as regards legal entry, is no better.

The police have been on the job, as many as 50 being around the plant when the men picket. Picket lines of 250 march round the plant in the morning and afternoon, with banners voicing their demands. Up to the present there has not been much interference with the picket lines, although on one occasion Mr. Smith organized a crew of his scabs and as the picket line passed the plant, he ordered them to shower the pickets with stones. There was a regular melee, and the strikers, although the attack was not expected, did not come off defeated. There are other manifestations of the attitude of the city authorities, aside from the arrests. Mr. Smith, assistant superintendent of the Canton plant, walks up and down the road with a gun in his belt; he is continually with the police, and instructs them as to the men to be arrested. Thus the close collaboration of the police and the authorities with the officials of the company is clearly demonstrated. Not that this is anything new in strikes: it is a usual phenomenon, but is rarely done so openly as in Canton.

Sign Of The Times

Steel, which together with coal, is the backbone of modern industry, is beginning to move. The workers who are being speeded up and early thrown on the scrap heap, are no longer willing to accept the conditions imposed. Despite unemployment which is rampant throughout the country, despite the brutal treatment which is heaped upon the men by the police and the protection given to the scabs, who are even furnished with weapons by the company, which weapons they have used on the strikers, the men are out, and continue to fight, have organized, are trying to spread the strike.

Relief and defense have become necessary. The International Labor Defense is taking care of all court cases, the Workers International Relief is now starting a local campaign for the relief of about 50 families which are getting into straitened circumstances.

The Canton strike, is an indicator of the trend in the American working class. The American workers are beginning to strike back. Miners, needle workers, textile workers, steel workers: the omens are good. The Left Wing must more actively work among these unorganized masses of 600,000 steel workers in order to lay the groundwork for a formidable union in the steel industry. This will take work and energy, but the attitude of the Canton steel workers indicates that this is fertile soil and good results will come.

THERE IS A RISING TIDE OF MILITANCY AMONG WORKERS ALL OVER THE WORLD

THE period of wage cutting is world wide in scope, everywhere outside the Soviet Union, and the period of resistance to this rationalization, its wage cuts, long hours, bitter exploitation, is beginning to set in.

Rationalization had three main aspects. The introduction of machinery of greater and greater labor displacing power, the introduction of machines into industries that had not been much mechanized before, was one aspect.

In the mining industry in America, the coal cutting and loading machine is a comparatively recent thing, and its ability to displace labor is just beginning to be realized. In the textile industry, to take another example, the multiple loom system has reached such proportions in the last three years, that one man for eighty looms is the rule in certain mills. In the marine transport industry, larger ships, with the same crews, oil burners to displace the coal passers, Diesel engines to further limit the crews, are now common. On the railroads, the mammoth engines of today haul trains three times as long as the old trains, with the same crews. And so on in other industries. That is one aspect of rationalization, and it means unemployment.

It also means faster and harder work, more severe supervision. The miner on a machine works in a gang, with a boss standing over him. The one textile worker running eighty looms, has waiting outside seventy-nine competitors, ready to take his job. That is another aspect of rationalization.

The third aspect is the deliberate cutting of wages and lengthening of hours, as the employers realize their power, when disorganized labor competes more and more for the fewer jobs that are left and international capital competes for the narrowing world market. This side of rationalization led to the smashing of the eight hour



THE PIONEERS

The National Miners' Union, The National Textile Workers' Union, and the New Needle Trades Union are cutting their way through the jungle of red tape and ticker tape that surrounds the labor faker-exploiter combination.

law in Germany, led to the assault on the miners' union in England, led to the provocation of the miners' strike in America, and the cutting of wages 25% to 35% below the Jacksonville scale, led to the three wage cuts of 10% each, offered the textile workers of New England and the South.

The employers, when they embarked on this great drive against Labor, relied on the fact that labor unions were led by corrupt and inefficient leaders.

The greatest orgy of treason took place in America, where the chiefs of the international unions, almost without exception, not only betrayed individual strikes, but established treason as a system, in the B.&O. plan, in the proposed anti-strike law, in the Mitten plan in Philadelphia, meeting rationalization half way, surrendering the workers to exploitation and advertising their skill in doing so.

As this is written, a strike wave, forced from below, sweeps Europe.

Sixty thousand shipyard workers, forty-five thousand textile workers and twenty-five thousand miners are on strike in Germany; ten thousand miners are striking in Czecho-Slovakia; the textile workers have paralyzed the Lille region in France.

In America, it has been necessary to break the power of the old union leaders in the mining, the textile and the needle trades by forming new unions, which leave the old leaders out of the workers' organization. The miners' strike, the New Bedford strike, the Canton, O. steel strike show the workers' will to resist rationalization.

It will be necessary now to not only continue the struggle against the misleaders of labor in the old unions, but to come out and organize the unorganized without them. This is the task of the left wing in America, of the T.U.E. L. and of the R.I.L.U.

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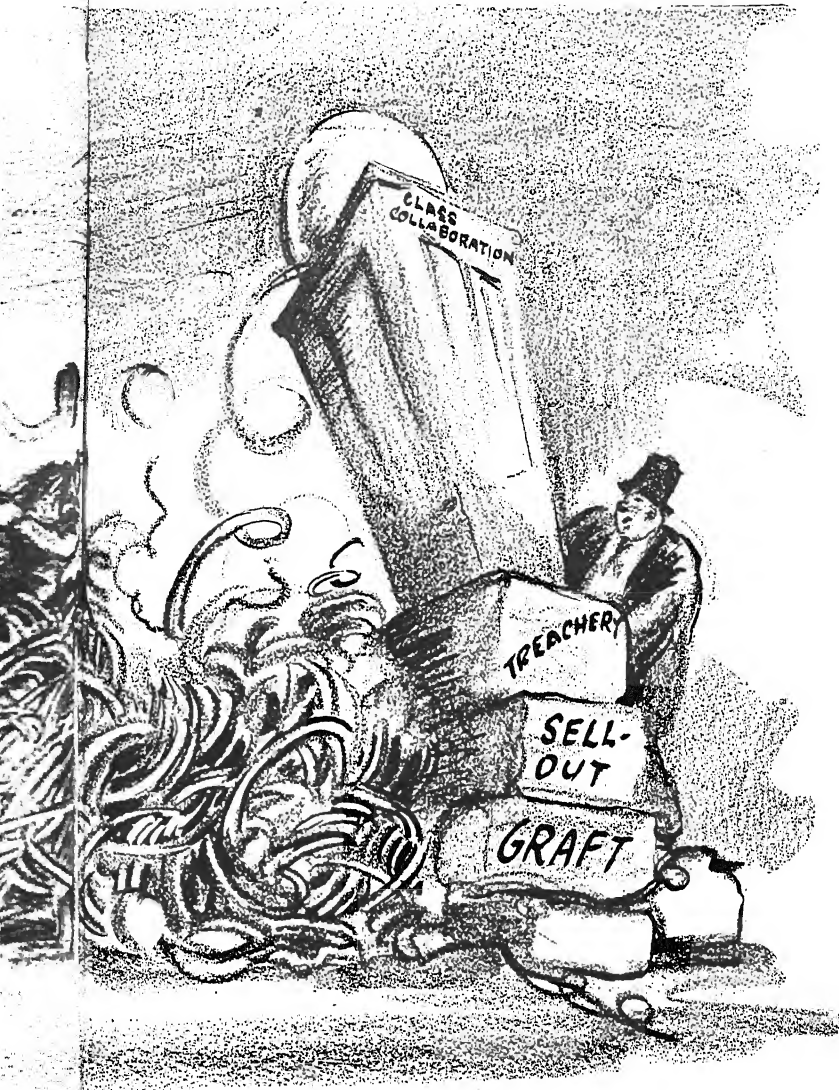
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Sixty thousand shipyard workers, forty-five thousand textile workers and twenty-five thousand miners are on strike in Germany; ten thousand miners are striking in Czecho-Slovakia; the textile workers have paralyzed the Lille region in France.

In America, it has been necessary to break the power of the old union leaders in the mining, the textile and the needle trades by forming new unions, which leave the old leaders out of the workers' organization. The miners' strike, the New Bedford strike, the Canton, O. steel strike show the workers' will to resist rationalization.

It will be necessary now to not only continue the struggle against the misleaders of labor in the old unions, but to come out and organize the unorganized without them. This is the task of the left wing in America, of the T.U.E. L. and of the R.I.L.U.

New Tasks of the T. U. E. L.

(Continued from page 1).

The situation for the organization of the unorganized grows increasingly favorable. The wage cuts, the unemployment, the speed-up, are tending to stir vast sections of the workers, and to put them in a mood for organized resistance to the employers. This raises the question of the organizations through which this growing spirit of resistance shall express itself. It is manifest that the old reactionary trade unions which have been wiped out in the great basic industries and are dying as a real weapon of the workers, are incapable of coping with this task. Hence, new unions, founded on the industrial principle and headed by real fighters must be built up where there are no old unions or when these are incapable of functioning, and that is in the overwhelming bulk of the industries. The formation of new unions in the mining, needle, and textile industries within the past few months is indicative of the general trend of development. The T.U.E.L. must push forward with organization campaigns in mining, steel, automobile, packing, textile, needle and other industries.

The struggle to build these new unions constitutes the central task of the T.U.E.L. It must become the fighting leader of the battle of the unorganized for an organization and for better conditions. And more than ever the T.U.E.L. must come forward under its own name in this basic work. For the time being the question of creating a definite national center of the new unions is not on the order of the day. The T.U.E.L. will continue to develop as the general revolutionary union rallying point. As the American resolution of the 4th World Congress of the R.I.L.U. says:

"The T.U.E.L. must now become the genuine organizational center of the unorganized workers, as well as being the center of the left wing in the reformist unions."

In order to develop its work of organizing the masses, unorganized workers must be drawn into all groups and leading committees of the T.U.E.L. This important measure, adopted by the recent T.U.E.L. National Conference, has been largely ignored in the practice.

As To The Old Unions

The great stress that the T.U.E.L. lays upon the building of new unions does not mean, however, that the work in the old unions shall be abandoned. On the contrary, in those unions that still preserve anything of a mass character the struggle against the reactionary bureaucrats must be intensified. The

T.U.E.L. will never surrender to the Greens, Wolls, and other misleaders the 2,500,000 to 3,000,000 organized workers in the United States.

Under the pressure of the employers the breaking up and company-unionization (or more properly, the Fascistization) of the trade unions proceeds rapidly. Never were the leaders so hopelessly corrupt as now, never were the organizations so weak, never was democratic control in the unions so low. And the crisis constantly grows deeper. The employers are fast turning the old labor movement into an instrument against the working class, where they do not destroy it outright.

We must fight against all these tendencies, struggle to save the mass unions from the combined attacks of the bosses and their agents, the labor fakers, fight to revolutionize these organizations and to draw the membership masses under the leadership of the left wing. Even in the teeth of the sharpest expulsion policy and bitterest persecution, the T.U.E.L. must press on with the organization of the left wing in the old unions. There is a growing element in the unions awaking to the crisis and seeking a way of solution. These must be organized around the T.U.E.L. program.

Strike Strategy

T.U.E.L. militants must give increasing attention to the question of strike strategy. The coming period will be one of growing struggles by large masses of workers, in which left wing workers will be increasingly in the leadership. The big battles in the mining, textile, needle, and shoe industries are only a foretaste of the future. It is of the most basic importance that left wing militants properly equip themselves theoretically to lead these great struggles.

The great masses must be organized in the teeth of violent opposition of the powerful imperialist employers. To establish the new unions in the trustified industries will involve much more militant struggles than to build the old craft unions during the competitive stage of capitalism. The militants, to defeat the bosses and their labor leader agents, will have to understand how to utilize every advantage in the class war. Mistakes in policy and tactics will be disastrously costly. Hence, the great importance of a thorough understanding of strike strategy, a phase which the R.I.L.U. now is correct in sharply stressing.

The T.U.E.L. must give more attention to the fight against the war danger. All its propaganda must aim, in addition to its other specific purposes, to

arouse and organize the masses to resist the militarization program of American imperialism, which is heading straight to war. It must expose the sham of the Kellogg pact, which is designed not to prevent war but to blind and demoralize the workers so that the capitalists can go ahead even more freely with their war program. The T.U.E.L. must uncover to the workers the growing conspiracy of the capitalist countries to overthrow the Soviet Union and it must seek even more militantly to rally them in defense of the first Workers Republic. The T.U.E.L. must also give far more active support to the Chinese workers in revolution.

More and more the strikes of the workers take on a political character. More and more the employers use the state to repress and exploit the workers. This makes it all the more necessary for the T.U.E.L. in all its activities to expose the capitalist character of the state and to stress the necessity of working class political action. Although propagating the formation of a labor party, the T.U.E.L. should endorse the Presidential candidates of the Workers (Communist) Party, Foster and Gitlow. They alone of the various candidates support the principles of class struggle upon which the whole program of the T.U.E.L. is based.

Work Among Negroes

The R.I.L.U. sharply criticizes the T.U.E.L. for its inactivity among negroes. This criticism is fully justified and the cause for it must be ruthlessly eradicated. The near future must develop much greater T.U.E.L. activity in this very important phase of our general work.

Negroes are an increasingly important factor in many industries, especially those of a basic character. They are more bitterly exploited and persecuted than any other section of the working class. The T.U.E.L. must come forward aggressively as the defender of the Negroes, demanding for them full social, political, and industrial rights. In all T.U.E.L. organization campaigns special attention must be paid to unionizing Negro workers. The new unions being built must of course include Negro workers and draw them fully into the leadership. Besides, the T.U.E.L. must redouble its efforts to secure the admission of Negro workers into the old unions, and it shall, whenever necessary, organize Negroes in separate unions where the white unions do not admit them. In order to develop this general work Negroes must be drawn into all the groups and leading committees of the T.U.E.L. The bureau just organized by the R.I.L.U. to conduct revolutionary trade union work among Negroes in all countries will greatly facilitate this task in the United States.

Rationalization

The T.U.E.L. must become more concrete in its struggle against capitalist rationalization, the employers' speed-up program in industry. The first step in this direction is to carefully analyze what is actually happening in the rationalization movement. Already the British and German left wing movements have made important progress in this respect, in the shape of printed pamphlets surveying the results and tendencies of rationalization. The recent National Minority Movement Conference in London had before it a splendid document of this kind, taking up rationalization thoroughly, industry by industry. Such a thorough-going analysis is the very foundation for a successful fight against the speed-up, wage-cuts, unemployment, and the company unionization of the trade unions, which are such important phases of rationalization. The T.U.E.L. must have such a close-up study of American industry. So far our tendency has been to reside too much in the realm of generalities.

Unemployment

In all the great industrial countries the army of unemployed tends not only to become larger, but also permanent. This is true of the United States with its multitudes of workless toilers, as well as of England, Germany, France, Czecho-Slovakia, etc. Rationalization of industry, shrinkage of home markets, industrialization of new countries and sharpening of international competition generally, are throwing larger and larger masses of workers out of work in all the big industrial countries.

This means that the T.U.E.L. will have to devote much more attention to the question of unemployment than heretofore. The T.U.E.L. must intensify its propaganda explaining to the workers how capitalism inevitably develops mass unemployment; it must help to organize the unemployed; to arouse the trade unions on the subject and to get them to make common cause with the unemployed. As a means to combat unemployment, the T.U.E.L. must much more aggressively fight for its program of the shorter work-day and work-week and stimulate the workers to fight for state relief for unemployed workers. The proposal of Lewis and the coal operators to drive 300,000 workers out of the coal industry, and the absolute necessity of uniting the miners against such a monstrous proposal, indicate the deep importance of the question of the T.U.E.L. intensifying its activities on the unemployment question.

Women and Youth

The T.U.E.L. must also focus its attention more upon active work among women and the youth. Work among these super-exploited categories of workers

becomes the more important and necessary because, with the mechanization and specialization of industry, the tendency of the capitalists is to employ larger and larger numbers of women and youth workers.

The young workers take on an added importance because they are the ones who will be called upon primarily to lead in the labor struggles of the near future and to do the real building of the new industrial unions. This lesson is as clear as day from our recent experiences in the mining, needle, textile, and other industries. One of the first steps necessary in the development of successful T.U.E.L. work among women and youth is to draw these elements into all the groups and leading committees of the left wing.

International Solidarity

It is necessary further that the T.U.E.L. lay more emphasis on the international aspects of the workers' struggle. First and foremost in this respect is required a more intensive popularization of the Red International of Labor Unions in the United States. Especially is this necessary in view of the tendency to form unions not affiliated to the A.F. of L. Such unions will be militant and will necessarily look more and more to the R.I.L.U. as the real leader of the world struggles of the workers.

In order to fight more effectively on all fronts against American imperialism, in order to play an effective part in the international battle of labor, the T.U.E.L. must establish better connections with

the respective International Propaganda Committees of the R.I.L.U. and with the left wing movements in Germany, England, Canada, etc. Also the T.U.E.L. must give its sustained and active support to the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat and the Latin American Trade Union Secretariat. These militant organizations will lead the great struggles of the workers in those increasingly important centers of imperialist exploitation and conflict, the Orient and Latin America.

Build the T.U.E.L.

The present situation, with all its opportunities and problems, thrusts great tasks upon the T.U.E.L. But our organization is all too weak to accomplish these tasks as it should. The necessity for building the T.U.E.L. is urgent. The matter must be taken in hand as never before since the militant activity at the time the T.U.E.L. was launched.

The T.U.E.L. remains still pretty much of a skeleton organization, especially with regard to its general organization in the big industrial centers. This condition must be remedied at once. Intensive organization campaigns must be put on to build up the local and general sections of the T.U.E.L. everywhere. Large numbers of militant fighters exist in the various cities and industries. But for the most part they are unorganized. To bring them into the T.U.E.L. to build our left wing organization everywhere, is the first requisite for progress in working out the great problems and tasks confronting the left wing.

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Conference of the British Minority Movement

By WM. Z. FOSTER

(Delegate from the R.I.L.U.)

IN Shoreditch Town Hall, London, on August 25-26, the National Minority Movement, which is the left-wing of the trade unions and the British section of the Red International of Labor Unions, held its Fifth Annual Conference. Present were 825 delegates coming from all the principal industries, unions, and localities, and representing at last 750,000 organized workers. The conference was presided over by the veteran, Tom Mann.

The conference had an extended order of business, dealing with "Trade Union Democracy and Reorganization," "The War Danger," "Rationalization," "Strike Strategy," "Industrial Peace," "The Colonial Question," "The Cooperative Movement," Unemployment," organizational matters, etc. But the central question, which colored and shaped all the business of the conference was the struggle against "Mondism," or the so-called industrial peace movement.

The Rationalization Movement

In order to comprehend the struggle over Mondism it is necessary to understand the industrial difficulties in which Great Britain now finds itself. Because of backward technique, antiquated organization, its load of war debts, the rise of new and powerful competitors such as the U. S., the colonial countries, etc., England has been driven out of its position as leading world industrial country. Many of its great industries are stagnant or even declining. This is especially true of the basic coal, metal, and textile industries, in each of which production is now lower than in 1913. From one to two million workers constantly are unemployed. This situation marks the decline of England as the greatest imperialist power.

Confronted with this deep crisis, the British employers are engaging in a desperate campaign to cut production costs, probably hoping that thereby they can accomplish the impossible task of overcoming foreign competition in the



TOM MANN

The originator of "The New Unionism" in England, Chairman of the 1928 National Minority Movement Conference.

world market, and of re-establishing 'Great Britain's industries on a flourishing basis. Although seeking to arrive at this end also by a general modernizing of their industries, their main objective is to cut production costs and to rationalize the industries at the expense of the workers: by speeding up the workers, by slashing wages, lengthening hours, and destroying the militancy and power of the unions. To serve this purpose of the employers is the function of Mondism, or the "industrial peace" movement.

Mondism

Mondism is the development in England of tendencies long familiar to American workers. On the one hand, it proposes that the workers collaborate with the employers to increase production (similar to the B. & O. Plan, union-management cooperation, etc.), and on the other, the establishment of a quasi-compulsory arbitration (similar to the Watson-Parker railroad law) to put an end to strikes. Mondism means to abandon all struggle by the workers, to surrender them to the speed-up, war-mongering plans of the employers. It is the company-unionization of the trade unions.

Mondism takes its name from Sir Alfred Mond (now Lord Melchett), head of the Imperial Chemical Companies, the chemical trust, which employs 40,000 men. Mond is a kind of British Mitten. In his plants



WAL HANNINGTON
General Secretary Metal
Workers' Section, National
Minority Movement.

he has works councils (company unions), employee stock buying, welfare work, and the rest of such methods of demoralizing the workers. He openly praises the Italian Fascists and they in turn have lauded his program as akin to their own. Mondism is a beginning of Fascism in England.

Mond came forward with his plan in December, 1927, when on behalf of 23 of the biggest British capitalists he asked the trade union leaders to come into conference for the purpose of establishing industrial peace on the basis of the unions accepting the rationalization, speed-up, compulsory arbitration program of the employers. Thus the employers' offensive took another step forward. First, it was the great assault on the unions in the general strike; then it was the attempt to smash them later with the Trade Union Act; now it's an effort to devitalize them by a process of company unionization.

Union Leaders Treason

The reactionary British trade union leaders, the Thomas', Turners, Bevins, et al, were quick to accept Mond's proposals. Thus they are true to their role of betraying the workers. It was they who broke the general strike; they also made no real fight against the Trade Union Act and now, as agents of the employers in the ranks of the workers, they naturally become the champions of Mond's company-unionization scheme. The rationalization drive of the employers for cheaper production is world-wide, and so is the surrender of the reactionary leaders in it. In France they are accomplishing this surrender through the National Economic Council; in Germany through schemes of "industrial democracy," labor courts, and arbitration councils; in the United States through Capitalist Efficiency Socialism, the new wage policy, etc.; in Italy they have surrendered to Mussolini and his Charter of Labor. Now, in England, the same tendency develops in Mondism.

Mond with his capitalists came together in conference with the union leaders in July 1928, the latter totally without rank and file authorization. As a result of its deliberations the conference put forth a plan for the formation of a National Industrial Council, to be composed of representatives of employers and union leaders. This council is to have the double purpose of speeding up the workers and of eliminating strikes.

This scheme was greeted joyously by the capitalist press. They saw in it a knife for the exploiting employers to hamstring the working class, and the end

of revolutionary dangers. The labor leaders, reflecting the moods and interests of the employers, were no less jubilant. They declared that not only were the workers on the way towards capitalist prosperity, but towards Socialism as well. So they hope to blind the workers to this latest scheme of exploitation. In the Daily Herald, Aug. 28, Citrine, secretary of the General Council of the Trade Union Congress, strikes the keynote when he says: "We believe rationalization can be made a step towards Socialism."

The Left Wing Fights Mondism

Immediately upon Mond's proposals, the National Minority Movement took up the cudgels against this new menace. Great meetings were held in all the industrial centers. Many pamphlets and leaflets were issued. The Shoreditch conference was but the latest step in mobilizing the workers for the battle against Mondism.

Meanwhile other elements not directly in the Minority Movement but sympathetic, also joined in the fight. A. J. Cook, Secretary of the Miners Federation, is waging a militant campaign, together with Maxton of the I. L.P. Among the vast masses of workers there is a developing much opposition to this latest attack by the employers.

Terrorism In The Union

Confronted by the growing opposition, the reactionary leaders, at all costs determined to put across Mondism, are abolishing democracy in the unions. They know that their only hope of holding on to the masses and to herd them into the Mondist trap is by breaking the power of the left wing.

Hence, seeking to accomplish this, they are introducing into the unions methods of autocracy and terrorism familiar this past few years to American workers. Expulsions, convention packing, vote stealing disfranchisement, etc., are becoming increasingly the order of the day.

And this is only the beginning. We may look for a great sharpening of these terrorist tactics in the near future. The employers are in a difficult position. They will make greater and greater demands upon the workers for more production and for lower wage rates. The left wing is powerfully organized and will lead the masses in resisting these demands. Then the union leaders, to get a free hand, will go to even greater autocratic extremes. They will recklessly split the labor movement if necessary. They will not hesitate to slough off vast masses of the semi-skilled and unskilled, if thereby they can retain a base of skilled workers over whom to manipulate and bargain with the bosses. Such a split now actually menaces



ARTHUR HORNER
Exec. Member, Miners' Fed. of Great Britain, member of the National Minority Movement.

the British labor movement. The Swansea trade union congress, just held, practically gave the signal for it by expelling Communist delegates from the congress, and by initiating this as a line for the whole labor movement. Simultaneously, the capitalist government also intensifies its offensive against the left wing.

Fruits Of Mondism

Already the British organized workers are harvesting the dead sea fruits of Mondism and similar tendencies, by the worsening of their conditions and the wrecking of their labor unions. The report to the Minority Movement Congress shows that since 1921 British workers have suffered wage reductions totalling \$3,500,000,000, and the wage tendency is still downward. The railroad workers, thanks to their Mondist leaders, have just suffered a 2½% cut and similar slashes are in prospect for other trades. The Mond scheme which it is claimed will do so much for the workers starts out by slashing the workers' wages and fattening the capitalists' profits. The working day is also gradually being lengthened. Since 1921 an additional 211,000,000 hours are being worked annually by the workers, while unemployment is being stabilized on a mass scale.

The trade union movement is also rapidly declining in numbers, being reduced 2,000,000 workers in the past few years. The miners' federation is being sapped and shattered, having lost about 300,000 members in three years. In "The Labor Monthly" of Sept. 1928, R. R. Dutt well says that "The Swansea trade union congress meets at a time when trade unionism is in greater danger than at any previous period in its history." In England, as in the United States, the slogan "Save the Trade Unions from the employers' offensive and the reactionary union bureaucracy" touches a life problem of the workers.

Mondism must make the English trade union crisis deeper. It sacrifices the struggle for higher wages and shorter hours, it liquidates union working conditions, it devitalizes and company-unionizes the unions, it increases unemployment, it degenerates the leaders into Fascist agents of the bosses, it leaves the workers demoralized before the war plans of the employers, and it increases the war danger by intensifying the struggle for world markets. Finally, it confronts the movement with the menace of a split.

Shoreditch and Swansea

The Shoreditch conference of the Minority Movement declared war to the finish against Mondism. As against a system of surrender, it outlined a policy of militant struggle for improved wages, hours and working conditions, for social insurance, and organ-

ization of the unorganized against the speed-up and all forms of collaboration with the employers, against all forms of company unionism, sliding wage scales and copartnership, against the blacklist, espionage, and victimization. The conference launched an aggressive campaign to restore democracy in the unions, to consolidate them into industrial unions, to organize the unorganized, to oust the reactionary leaders, and to build one great trade union international.

The Swansea congress of the trade unions met a week after the Minority Movement conference. It endorsed Mondism by a vote of 3,075,000 against 560,000. This was to be expected. Like the A.F. of L. congress, that of the British unions is made up almost completely of trade union bureaucrats. They are overwhelmingly in favor of collaboration with the bosses.

Thus Shoreditch and Swansea stand in violent contradiction to each other. Shoreditch, the left wing, the intelligent rank and file, determined to develop the unions into fighting organizations and to lead a policy of struggle against the bosses. Swansea, the right wing, the trade union leadership, determined to drop all fight against the bosses and to turn the unions practically into company unions. The developing struggle between these two opposing elements will decide the fate of British trade unionism. Although they have the backing of the employers and the government, the right wing leaders will never be able to force the masses of British workers to accept Mondism and the intensifying slavery that it involves. Whole sections of them will revolt irretrievably against the Mondist system of company unionization. The next year will be highly crucial in the life of the British working class. The left wing have a terrific fight to make against the degeneration and the splitting of the labor movement by the right wing leaders, who are typical misleaders of the Amsterdam International type.

Other Business of the Conference

While concentrating heavily its attack on Mondism in Great Britain, the conference also paid much attention to the world situation. It exposed the war maneuver of British imperialism; warned the workers of the growing war danger; and called upon them to repel that danger. It pledged the most hearty support of the Soviet Union.

Much attention was given to the colonial question. The conference declared militantly for the closest cooperation between the European and colonial movement. The attempts of the British labor leaders to draw the Indian trade union movement into the trap of reformism were denounced. Support was voted

(Continued on page 32).

PAN - PACIFIC CONFERENCE RESULTS

ON April 13 a special trade union conference of delegates from the countries bordering the Pacific who attending the Red International of Labor Unions international congress was held at Moscow. Representatives of the five South American nations with a Pacific seaboard were present, thus bringing together for the first time in the discussion of problems of particular importance to the Far East and the Americas delegates representing the trade union movements of all those lands. In the deliberations of this body

important resolutions agreed upon included immediate action to secure the affiliation to the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat of the South American countries bordering the Pacific. It was also agreed that organizers should be sent by the Secretariat into the various countries represented to assist in the development of the trade union movement with special attention to the unorganized sections.

Thorough organization of the working masses under revolutionary leadership with the object of securing the hegemony of the national revolutions and of leading the general struggle against imperialism, together with the pressing need of mobilizing the masses against the danger of another world-war were the objectives stressed by all the speakers. The growing menace of American imperialism, both in the Far East and in the countries south of the United States, was especially emphasized. Steps must be taken to strengthen the labor organizations and to remould them in such form as to set up real fighting organs, adapted both to the carrying on of the every-day struggle for better working conditions, higher wages, etc. and that of the final conflict for power.

The enormously important role of the Chinese revolution was constantly reiterated and the workers of the world called on to do everything possible to support the horribly oppressed workers and peasants of that country in their dual struggle against the forces of imperialism and internal reaction. As George Hardy, reporting for the Pan-Pacific Secretariat declared: "We must acquaint the masses in every

RESOLUTION

Of The Conference Of The Delegates To The Fourth Congress Of The R.I.L.U. From Pacific Countries

In view of the growing aggressiveness of the imperialism of the United States of America and the intensifying of the imperialist conflicts in the Pacific, the solidarity and unity of the workers in the Pacific is becoming a vital necessity. The delegates present at the conference of the delegates to the Fourth Congress of the R.I.L.U. from Pacific Countries seriously consider that not only the Pacific countries, which have already joined the Pan-Pacific Secretariat, should work in close co-operation with the Latin American Trade Union Secretariat, but that the five Latin American countries bordering the Pacific should also affiliate to the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat. Therefore we recommend that the workers of Mexico, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Chile should be invited to join the P.P.T.U.S. in order to form a connected circle of the workers around the Pacific in their common militant struggle against imperialism.

country bordering the Pacific especially with the character of the revolutionary struggle now going on in China. They must understand the objective of the workers and peasants, that of securing the right of trade and peasant unions, a higher living standard, and the realization of a workers-peasants government, participated in by the small bourgeoisie." While the struggle for independence is, of course, not exclusively a Chinese struggle, he pointed out that the degree of success or the failure in China will greatly aid or deter the similar con-

licts in the colonial and semi-colonial countries. Not only is it vital that the great unorganized masses be unionized but it is equally necessary that the leadership of the organized movements be strengthened. In virtually all these lands this present-day leadership is composed in large part of bourgeois elements, the very type which in a crisis proves at its best dangerously vacillating and at its worst actually treasonable to the interests of the masses.

A Lesson From The Chinese Struggle

Su Chao-jen, reporting for the Chinese labor movement, emphasized this same fact. "From the experience of China," he stated, "especially in the taking back of the British concessions at Hankow and Kiukiang, we learn that it is only possible for the working class to struggle for and achieve victory when they are relying upon their own strength. Now, of course, the reign of the white terror is intensifying in China; counter-revolutionary trade unions are being set up; and the bourgeoisie has turned completely against the revolution. But all this only tends to show that the working class has to depend upon its own strength for its liberation. It is true that in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, in the process of the struggle we can ally ourselves with the bourgeoisie in the national liberation movements, but while doing this, we must always remember, as the resolutions of the First Congress pointed out, that we must chiefly reply upon the independent struggle of the working class.

Regarding the peasants, he pointed out the duty of the working class, especially in the Pacific countries, of co-operating with and leading the peasant movements. In the majority of these countries industry is not yet highly developed and the peasants are playing a very important part in the liberation movements.

Muso, reporting for Indonesia, said the working class movement there was in the same sort of situation as that of China. The Dutch imperialists rigidly suppress all such movements. Since the insurrection of the Communist Party in 1926-7, Great Britain, Holland, America, — all have formed a united bloc against labor activities in the Far East. This, combined with the natural geographical isolation of the lands involved, make it most difficult to establish and maintain the necessary connections.

Merge, delegate from Mongolia, reported that both the Northern Chinese militarists and Feng Yu-hsiang, as well as the Japanese imperialists, were seeking to establish a base there. Many revolutionary leaders in that territory have been killed or arrested.

South American Affiliation

An interesting discussion arose over the question of affiliation of the five South American countries bordering the Pacific. At the February meeting of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Congress, it will be remembered, a resolution was passed urging co-operation between the Latin-American Trade Union Secretariat and P.P.T.U.S. Aside from this co-operation it is necessary, however, for the working class organizations of the Latin-American countries bordering the Pacific,—Mexico, Columbia, Ecuador, Chili, and Peru—formally to affiliate with the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat. Thus there will be formed a circle of all the countries bordering the Pacific for the common struggle against imperialism. By uniting all the workers in the Pacific, by strengthening the organization of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat, by emphasizing the need for close co-operation between the two Secretariats, and by the affiliation of these Latin-American countries to the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat, we can expect that unity and solidarity of all the workers on the Pacific upon which the success of the Pacific labor movement depends.

DECLARATION of the

Delegates From Mexico, Ecuador, Colombia, Peru,
Chile, To The Pan-Pacific Conference Of
R.I.L.U. Delegates.

After hearing the report of Comrade Su of the P.P.T.U.S. and recognizing the growing aggressiveness of the U.S.A. imperialism, and the necessity for all the workers bordering on the Pacific to unite against their common enemy, we the delegates from Mexico, Ecuador, Colombia, Peru, Chile, declare that we insistently recommend the working organizations of our respective countries to affiliate to the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat, and we undertake to do all in our power to effect such affiliation in the nearest future.

Signatures:—Pedro Raymundo (Peru), Manuel Douoso (Ecuador), Ricardo Parades (Ecuador), Cardenas (Colombia), Donato Munoz (Mexico), Ortiz (Mexico).

Some delegates from these South American countries considered that their affiliation to the Latin-American Trade Union Secretariat and the maintenance by the latter of a loose form of connection with the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat would be sufficient. In reply, Harrison George, American delegate, pointed out that the statutes, principles, and programs of the two Secretariats were very similar and the situation confronting both very much alike. It was necessary that organic connections be made

directly between the trade unions of those countries and the P.P.T.U.C. This would bring a better unity and realization of the tactics to be applied. A resolution on this subject, together with the statement of the South American delegates, was adopted.

Denounce Tanaka Oppression

In addition, resolutions were passed requesting the R.I.L.U. Executive Committee to issue a manifesto against the brutal suppression by the British imperialists of the Bombay mill worker's strike, and the murder of striking railway workers. Another resolution protested against the suppression of the revolutionary labor-peasant movement in Japan by the reactionary Tanaka government. This resolution reads:

"The imperialist government of Japan arrested on March 15th more than 1,000 workers and peasants who had followed the path of struggle for their vital living interests. Not limiting themselves to this, the authorities dispersed on April 11th the Workers' and Peasants' Party (Rodonominto), the Council of left Japanese Trade Unions (Hyogykai), and the League of Proletarian Youth (Musan Seinen Domei), organizations of the Japanese workingclass and peasantry. The Government of Japan has fallen upon the working and peasant masses with all its force, endeavoring to paralyze the resistance shown to the oppressing policy of the ruling classes. The reactionary government of imperialist Japan is the evil genius of the toiling masses of the colonial and semi-colonial countries of the Pacific Ocean. But the workers and peasant masses of Japan are now conducting a decisive struggle, which no repressions and persecutions will be able to stop.

"The delegates to the Fourth R.I.L.U. Congress from China, Japan, the Philippines, Indonesia, Mongolia, Mexico, Peru, Columbia, and Ecuador, participants in the Pan-Pacific Conference, emphatically protest in the name of the organized workers of the Pacific countries, against the reactionary measures of the Japanese Government and declare that they will struggle with all their forces together with the workers and peasant masses of Japan against the reactionary attack of the Japanese ruling classes."

The Red International Program

This is the final installment of the main thesis adopted by the Red International of Labor Unions at its Fourth World Congress, Moscow, U.S.S.R., March 17, April 3, 1928. The first installment was published in the May issue of Labor Unity, and back numbers are available for those desiring them. Send 4c stamps for postage on each number desired.

XVI. Struggle For The Single Class T. U. International (Continued)

In view of the fact that in their policy in practical activities the international secretariats are not to be distinguished from the Amsterdam International, and that the problem of co-ordinated international action is becoming more imperative in the measure that the number and scope of the international trusts extend, the Fourth R. I. L. U. Congress considers it necessary to strengthen and develop the work of the international wing of the trade union movement in the individual branches of production. For this purpose it is necessary on the one hand to pay redoubled attention to organising the workers of the most important branches of production (coal, iron, electricity, gas, chemicals, marine and railway transport), and on the other hand to transform the international propaganda committees into organs organising and directing the economic struggle of the workers in their respective industries. It is only by steadily fighting against the international secretariats and their policy of treachery that united internationals will be set up for each industry.

XVII. Our Weaknesses And Defects

In order successfully to advance towards the further conquest of the masses, it is essential to take a perfectly sober attitude towards the weaknesses and defects which have revealed themselves in recent years. The revolutionary trade union movement can grow and develop only on the basis of this self-criticism. Our bourgeois-reformist enemies try to utilise this self-criticism in their own interests, but no real revolutionary can nor must, repudiate the self-criticism merely because it is going to be used by the enemies of the working class. All R. I. L. U. affiliated organisations must constantly verify their work by means of self-criticism, by discussing trade union questions at general meetings of union members, as well as by ascertaining all defects after every big strike or other movement. The main defects and weak points of the revolutionary trade union movement are as follows:

- (1) Not enough of a practical trade union program of demands.
- (2) Insufficient attention to the work of organising the unorganised and failure to realise that in many countries (France, U. S. A., Japan, etc.) this is the most important way to get to the masses.
- (3) Proclamation of slogans not corresponding to the objective situation (workers' control and nationalisation in Germany).
- (4) Lack of conformity between the character of a strike and its slogans (the slogan for overthrowing the bourgeois State and the slogan of the worker-peasant government during the recent railway dispute in Germany).
- (5) Too frivolous an attitude to strikes (France) and failure to realise that every strike lost through our fault weakens the revolutionary trade union movement.
- (6) Disproportion between political influence and the organisational consolidation of this influence (France, Czecho-Slovakia, Germany, etc.).

(7) Insufficient understanding of the tactics of the united front and unity as the most important method of gaining the masses (U. S. A., France, etc.).

(8) Not enough of an energetic struggle against expulsions and violations of trade union democracy (Germany).

(9) Insufficient connections between the workers in the factories and the directing organs (France, Czecho-Slovakia, etc.).

(10) Insufficient mobility on the part of our organisations, lack of ability, to respond to the questions agitating the working masses, and insufficient ability to arouse the initiative of the masses.

(11) Not enough ability to promote fresh young blood to leading posts in the unions.

(12) Failure sufficiently to carry into effect the principle of democratic centralism in all links of trade union organisation.

(13) Insufficient attention to catering for the needs and demands of the workers, which is one of the most important means of winning the masses in all countries.

(14) Lack of systematic work by the trade unions with a view to enrolling women in the unions and promoting them to responsible trade union work.

These defects, met with in various combinations in all countries, must be got rid of at all costs, otherwise they threaten to retard the growth of the revolutionary trade union movement.

XVIII. Programme of Action

Keeping in view the social conflicts more acute with each passing day, the move to the right of the reformist leaders and the leftward drift of the masses, and the continuing political and economic offensive of the capitalists, the Fourth R. I. L. U. Congress calls for struggle on the basis of the following programme of action:

- (1) Struggle against longer working day, for the 7-hour working day as maximum and for the 6-hour day underground, in harmful occupations and for young workers under 18.
- (2) Struggle against all results of capitalist rationalisation by raising wages, improving and placing on a healthy basis the conditions of labor in rationalised undertakings, etc.
- (3) Struggle against the degradation of the standards of life; for increased real wages; for equal pay for equal work.
- (4) Struggle against all taxes whatsoever on wages, and for the transfer of the entire burden of taxation to the shoulders of the ruling classes.
- (5) Struggle for state insurance for the unemployed and those working short-time, for all wage workers. Struggle for equal right of unemployed women to benefit.
- (6) Struggle for the protection of female and child labor and nursing mothers.
- (7) Struggle for a developed trade union democracy against the slightest attempts whatsoever to restrict the rights of members, against expulsions and repressions on the part of the trade union bureaucracy. For full freedom of opinion inside the unions.

(8) Struggle to enroll the unskilled and unorganised workers in the unions; to enroll the women workers and working youth in the unions.

(9) Struggle against all racial barriers whatever in the trade union movement, against dividing the unions according to nationality and religion.

(10) Struggle against fascist, yellow and nationalist unions; for the full freedom of the class unions, trade union, press, etc.

(11) Struggle against compulsory arbitration, against the submission of conflicts between Labor and Capital to bourgeois courts against the support of blacklegs by the State, against the interference of the police and courts in the economic struggle of the working class.

(12) Struggle for the united front, for a fraternal alliance in the struggle of the workers of all shades of opinion in the struggle against Capital and the bourgeois State.

(13) Struggle against splits, and for the creation in each country of a single organisation to include all unions recognising the class struggle.

(14) Struggle against all forms of class collaboration, against industrial peace, against profit-sharing, against the participation of the unions and factory committees in the work of increasing the production of labor in capitalist undertakings, etc.

(15) Struggle for the transformation of the co-operatives in capitalist countries into genuine working class organisations able to render support to the workers in their struggle against employers.

(16) Struggle for the fraternal rapprochement of the workers in capitalist countries with the victorious working class of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

(17) Energetic struggle for the creation of international industrial unity committees.

(18) Struggle for the creation of a single all-inclusive class international embracing the trade unions of all countries, all continents and all races.

This programme of action which may serve as an INTERNATIONAL PLATFORM FOR THE UNITED FRONT must be made as popular as possible among the broad masses, linked up with the struggle for bringing the workers of the West into closer touch with the workers of the oppressed East, the imperialist League of Nations and the International Labour Office with the struggle against the Fascist reaction, against imperialist wars and attempts to surround and blockade the U. S. S. R. with the support of the labor movement of the colonies from white terror and Fascism etc. The main thing is to mobilise the masses on the basis of concrete demands and focus constant and unflagging attention on the day to day needs of the working class.

XIX. Getting down to the Masses

The most important task of all R. I. L. U. supporters is to get into as close touch as possible with the factories and workshops. Each passing day sees the reaction grow stronger. The united front of the employers, Social Democrats and Amsterdamites is working to purge the factories of revolutionary workers. The R. I. L. U. adherents will prove able to withstand the shocks of the Fascist reaction and the white terror only in the measure in which they are organically connected with the working masses. Every workshop, every factory must become our fortress. Only if we get right to the heart of the masses will it be found impossible to eradicate us. That is why the IV Congress turns to all supporters of the R. I. L. U., to all fighters for the liberation of the working class, with the call:

TO THE FACTORIES! TO THE SHOPS! DOWN TO THE MASSES!

Class Struggle in Sunny Australia

By ESSESS

AUSTRALIA has had nearly a quarter of a century of experience in settling industrial disputes by arbitration. It was first made law in New South Wales, its main features having been copied from the somewhat older New Zealand Act. The other Australian states soon enacted similar legislation, and the Federal Constitution empowers the Commonwealth Parliament to pass an arbitration act dealing with disputes affecting more than one state. This was done in 1904.

Although certain left wing elements did not fail even in those early days to point out the dangers of compulsory arbitration, showing how it tended to paralyse the action of the trade unions yet it should be borne in mind that broad sections of organised labor entertained great illusory expectations from this system of settling industrial disputes. As a matter of fact many of the trade unions functioning today, and many of the federations comprising the workers of a given industry in more than one state, may be said to owe their very existence to the functioning of the Federal Arbitration Court. The reason for this is as follows:

Some of the earlier decisions of the arbitration judges in New South Wales and of the Commonwealth Arbitration Courts were rather unexpectedly liberal and beneficial to the workers; the right to organise, the legalisation and the recognition of the trade unions as the collective-bargaining agent

of the workers, the award of minimum wages in different industries: all this blinded the workers of Australia for a long time to the pitfalls of compulsory arbitration. The trade unions became dependent on the "sense of justice" of the capitalist judge. The fact that a stray judge now and then flirted with the unions by granting them certain rights and concessions, was of course no sound basis on which to build the policies of the trade union movement. So much the stronger is to day the shock of disappointment in the camp of labor with the newer phases of arbitration.

White Australia

Due to a series of liberal judgments (in reality based on the economic condition of the new country, with its scarcity of labor, its "White Australian" policy, etc.) by arbitration judges of earlier days, many grades of hitherto unorganized workers began to form trade unions and inter-state federations in order to come before the Arbitration Court for an award of minimum wages or for the fixing of certain working conditions. The many unions which thus owe their existence to arbitration, were not reared in the spirit of the class struggle. They have no militant tradition of fighting for their demands. They were christened so to speak by the arbitration courts, and they are often paralysed to inaction by their fear and veneration of the law.

There are many examples of industrial conflicts in Australia

lia which show that certain trades "federated" beyond the limits of one State and provoked disputes with the employers in order to come before a certain federal Judge from whom they expected a favorable award. In other words, the cement which binds many federal unions today is not of a deep going organisational nature; not the recognition of the necessity to combine forces on a national scale for the class struggle, but the hope for "generosity" from one judge or another, is the foundation on which many of these trade union organisations rest. This is the reason why there is such a lack of concentration and centralisation in the Australian trade movement today. With one or two exceptions there are practically no true industrial unions in Australia; e., there are no unions comprising all the workers of any given industry on a national scale. Moreover, each state labor council is still functioning pretty nearly for itself, with little or no live contact with the other states. Of course the creation of the All-Australian Council of Trade Unions was a step of the greatest importance towards the consolidation of the Australian labor movement. But it must be remembered that the A. C. T. U. is still in its infancy. There are still many reactionary elements, primarily among the bureaucrats, who oppose the A. C. T. U. and this body will have many a hard battle to fight before it becomes the General Staff of the organised workers.

Arbitration Debases

One of the most evil effects of arbitration on the trade union movement of this country, was to rob it "indirectly" and piece-meal as it were, of its primary right to use the weapon of the strike in industrial conflicts. This was brought about by the arbitration court judge refusing to handle a dispute and pass judgement unless the workers involved agreed to return to work unconditionally first. Thus, instead of the workers organising more solidly and striking to obtain their demands, they most often submitted meekly to the order of the judge. All they could do then was to await humbly the decision of His Honor the Judge.

This matter of arbitration of course devitalised many of the trade unions and reduced them to a state of helplessness in times of crises. The well-paid lawyer who appeared before the court to argue the union's case, became the leading figure in industrial disputes and in trade union life. "Law" and "constitutionalism" became the guiding mottoes of many of the trade union leaders. Any "overt action" on the part of the rank and file, which was liable to prejudice the union in the eyes of the Court, was quickly suppressed by these trade union officials.

Thus what the trade union movement gained quantitatively, it lost in militancy and fighting capacity.

Class Struggle Inevitable

But the class struggle has its own basic laws which even Australia could not escape. The many "Labor" Governments in the various States and at various times have not brought the Australian working class one iota nearer to socialism or to the "Commonwealth of Labor". On the contrary, what the workers themselves, under the leadership of the militants, did not snatch and force from the so-called Labor Governments, these latter did not give. And they were not in a position to give, for the objective of the Labor Party, as stated in the constitution of the A. L. P., is "the socialisation of industry... by the constitutional utilisation of industrial and parliamentary machinery". What that means is well known to the workers of every country which is or has been blessed by social democratic "labor" governments... It needs no further characterisation of the Australian Labor Party than to cite the following from the "Fighting Platform" of this Party. Actually under the caption "Fighting

Platform", we read: "1. The cultivation of an Australian sentiment, the maintenance of a White Australia, and the development in Australia of an enlightened and self-reliant community." In their nationalistic jingoism, the A. L. P. is always trying to outdo and outshine Bruce and his gang.

The Evolution of Arbitration and the Capitalist Offensive

As we have already pointed out, those who had hoped to march or creep towards Socialism by means of "peaceful evolution" and the Arbitration system, have now received an awful shock. It is now being realised by broad sections of the Australian working class that the Australian bourgeoisie has launched an offensive against the working class, so sweeping and well organised that it threatens the very existence of trade unionism in Australia. There is a whole series of facts to show that this is no exaggerated alarm.

The most cynical and daring attack on the trade unions finds its expression in the Anti-Trade Union Bill now offered by the reactionary Bruce Government. It comes in the form of an "Amendment to the Commonwealth Conciliation and Arbitration Bill", and will go further than Baldwin's Blacklegs' Charter in England to paralyse the trade union movement.

The immediate cause for this action on the part of the Bruce Government is said to be the recent Waterside Workers' Federation dispute which submitted a series of claims to the Federal Arbitration Court. For two years the court delayed in dealing with these demands of the dockers, obviously because such delay benefitted shipowners. When the case finally came before the Arbitration Court the Judge refused to hear the workers' grievances on the ground that the Waterside Workers' Federation had failed to alter the Rules of Union as he had instructed them (!). One of the demands of the workers being against overtime, the union thereupon instructed its members to refuse to work overtime after November 21st. On November 27th, the shipowners issued an ultimatum to the waterside workers, threatening to tie up all ships. The union rejected the ultimatum. Thereupon the lockout was put into effect. A settlement was finally reached, but not until the Australian Council of Trade Unions intervened, and not until the order of the Arbitration Judge to the effect that the Waterside Workers carry a resolution agreeing to observe the award in its entirety (!).

This case helps us to get an insight into the technique of the arbitration court system in Australia. First the two years delay; then the Judge simply orders the union to alter its rules and to carry resolutions to accept his awards in their entirety. Otherwise His Honour refuses to descend to hear the case. The Government of course intervenes in favor of the shipowners, and the concrete result is the Anti-Trade Union Bill.

The Provisions of the Bill

The right of the workers to strike against oppressive conditions is taken away from them by a stroke of the pen:

"Clause 6 (1): No person or organisation shall, on account of any industrial dispute, do anything in the nature of a lock-out of strike, or continue any lock-out or strike.

PENALTY: In the case of an organisation or employer—One thousand pounds; in the case of any other person—Fifty pounds.

The hypocrisy of the phrasing, which pretends to deal with strikes and lockouts equally, is revealed by the following clause (Clause 7, (6)) which actually gives the employers the right to lock out their workers whenever the latter decide to take any organised action:

"Upon an order being made under this section declaring that a strike exists in the industry or a section or part of the industry, anything in the nature of a lockout done in that industry or in any section or part of that industry, shall, not, while the order remains in force, be a breach of the Act or of any award or order of the court."

But this is not all. In order to crush any display of militancy on the part of the trade unions or of their rank and file, the new bill provides:

"Any organisation of employers or employees which, for the purpose of enforcing compliance with the demands of any employers or employees, orders, encourages, advises or incites its members to refuse to offer or accept employment, shall be deemed to be guilty of doing something in the nature of lock-out or strike, as the case may be (Clause 8 (1)).

This clause means that even the discussion of a strike by trade union officials or workers may bring them the severest penalty.

"Expel the Militants and Save £900!"

This slogan may sound strange, but it is embodied in one of the clauses of the anti-trade union bill.

"(3). Where the Court is satisfied that after the commission of an offence to which this section applies, the organisation or branch has bona fide removed from any office or position held by them and, where they are members of the organisation, has expelled them from the organisation the persons by reason of whose acts the organisation has been found guilty of the offence, the maximum penalty which may be imposed on the organisation in respect of that offence shall be One Hundred Pounds".

We have seen that Clause 7 of the Bill provide a penalty of £1000 for Trade Unions guilty of calling a strike. The clause just cited thus promises to reduce the penalty from £1000 to £100.—if the militant trade unionists are removed from office and expelled from the organisation(!)

Capitalist Courts to Control the Unions

One of the strictest clauses gives the court the right to order at any time in the course of a dispute, a secret ballot to be carried out among the members of a union, "in accordance with directions given by the court". Furthermore, if the court is for any reason dissatisfied with the result of such a ballot, "the court shall declare the ballot void and give directions for the conduct of a secret ballot under the control of an officer of the court with or without provision for absent voting". The penalty provided for any one found guilty of obstructing in any way such action of the court, is £50, or imprisonment for six months.

Another clause gives the Court the right to dictate to any union what rules it should or should not have. Thus we read in Clause 58E:

"The Court may, upon its own motion, or upon application made under this section, disallow any rule of an organization which in the opinion of the Court is contrary to law, or to an order or award; or which is tyrannical or oppressive".

But a Mussolinian climax is reached where the law gives the courts the right to dissolve as they see fit any trade union organisation.

Clause 60 (1). "If it appears to the Court, upon the application of any organisation or person interested or the Registrar—that for any reasons the registration of an organisation ought to be cancelled, the Court may if in its discretion if it thinks fit, order the registration of the organisation to be cancelled, and thereupon it shall be cancelled accordingly".

"(6) Upon cancellation of the registration of the organisation, the Court may make an order for the dissolution of the organisation, and may, from time to time give such directions as it thinks fit, for the winding up of its affairs and the distribution among its members of any surplus property after paying its debts, or for the vesting of the property of the organisation, subject to such terms as the Court thinks proper of the organisation, in a voluntary association consisting of members of the organisation".

It is difficult to imagine a more cynical and brutal onslaught on the Trade Unions. Any group of reactionaries in any given union may apply for the cancellation of the union's registration and then obtain an order for the complete dissolution of the union. Thereupon the property of the union is to be confiscated and handed over to any group of scabs who are willing to run the organisation as the employers dictate.

Protection and Encouragement of Scabs

In order to protect scabs against any boycotting action of the workers or their organisation, and in order to make it impossible for any union to boycott an enterprise, factory

or shop as "black" there is a special clause in the proposed Bill which provides:

Clause 86a. "No person shall—(a) by violence to the person or property of another person, b) by any threat, c) by any pecuniary penalty or injury, d) by intimidation of any kind to whomsoever directed, e) by abusive or insulting language, f) by declaring or joining other persons in declaring goods or places or persons or undertakings or positions "black" (scab) or g) by any other form of boycott or threat of boycott,—prevent or endeavour to prevent any person from offering or accepting employment or work in accordance with the terms of an award or order of the Court.

Penalty: Twenty pounds, or in the case of an officer of a registered organisation One hundred pounds".

Furthermore, in order to muzzle the labor press completely, and make it subservient to the interests of the employers in the course of any dispute, the following clause has been inserted into the Bill:

(Clause 86D): "Any person who prints or publishes any report or other matter containing any order, encouragement, advice or incitement to commit any breach or non-observance of this Act, or of any order or award, or to refuse to offer or to accept employment upon the terms of an award or any report or other matter containing language which is insulting to or abusive of the Court, shall be guilty of an offence.

Penalty: One hundred pounds."

Bruce's "Peace" Conference

If there were still any doubt whether Mr. Bruce as the representative of the Australian bourgeoisie was following the example and probably the instructions of the Baldwin regime in England, this his insolent proposal to hold an Industrial "Peace" Conference on the model of the British Industrial Conference, removes all doubt as to the intentions and tactics of the reactionaries.

The tactics employed by the Bruce Government in this manoeuvre are interesting. Knowing that the menacing Anti-Trade Union Bill has aroused all sections of the working class against it, and that even the most reactionary trade union bureaucrats could not resist the pressure of the rank and file to oppose the Bill, the Bruce Government has very cleverly attempted to engineer a split in the trade unions of Australia in order to be able to play one section of the workers against the other. Here is where the organisational weakness of the Australian labor movement comes into play—to the advantage of the capitalists.

Bruce attempted to provoke disunity in the ranks of labor even in this manoeuvre by retaining the right to apportion the delegates among the labor unions, giving four delegates to the reactionary leaders of the Australian Workers Union and only ten to the A. C. T. U. and labor councils combined. at the same time he wrote out an agenda for the conference which concerns itself only with worker-employer co-operation, "industrial democracy" and greater productivity of labor.

The A. C. T. U. accepted the invitation to the conference conditional on (1) the absolute withdrawal of the trade union bill, and (2) that all representatives of the workers at the conference be endorsed by the A. C. T. U.

The rank and file unionists did not want to attend at all.

Conclusions

The Australian labor movement is faced with a hard and bitter struggle for its very existence. The illusion of "gliding peacefully" into Socialism is shattered. The Australian bourgeoisie is gathering its forces for a decisive attack on the Trade Unions. If this attack is not warded off in time, an era of Baldwinism may be expected in this country. More than ever before the need for a well organised and centralised trade union movement in Australia is apparent. The formation of strong industrial unions on a national scale, all united in a strong and militant A. C. T. U. is a crying need of the hour. At the same time the movement must be rid of all yellow leadership of the type of Grayndler & Co. lest the trade unions be reduced to organisations of the Gompers and Lewis and Havelock Wilson type.

THE PLUMBERS' CONVENTION

By H. A. ALEXANDER

A militant worker, about the only one there, unmuzzled by instructions to follow the machine rule, was the outstanding feature in the Twenty-second Convention of the United Association of Journeymen Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada, held in Atlantic City Sept. 17, and on. This was delegate Frank Mozier, of Local 123, Philadelphia; he had instructions to push certain progressive measures, and he did it. He was attacked venomously from the platform, as a "Red," whispering campaigns were carried on against him on the floor of the convention, silly slanders were whole heartedly charged by machine speakers (and immediately nailed by Mozier) the local press lied about him, and much of what he said was left out of the convention minutes.

But to anyone watching in the gallery, the convention looked every day pretty much like a duel between Mozier and the machine.

Some Progressives

There is progressive and left wing sentiment throughout the union. It showed in the applause which bound and gagged delegates showered upon Mozier's fight. But these same delegates voted with the machine, they hadn't the power or the courage to pass the test of the vote. Local Union 144 sent down from Canada a substitute preamble for the present wishy-waashy statement that heads the Plumbers' constitution. The Canadian preamble starts out: "Believing that the right of those who toil to enjoy to the full extent the wealth created by their labor is a natural right," and goes on to call for workers to "use their right of citizenship intelligently through organizations founded upon the class struggle and acting along co-operative, economic and political lines, using the natural resources, means of production and distribution for the benefit of all the people, with a view to restoring the common wealth to all those performing useful service to society."

But there was no sufficient support for this preamble, even from the Canadians, and of course no chance of its passing.

A real battle developed over Resolution 131, submitted by Mozier for his local. This resolution recounts the evils of the injunction, declares that it is one of the best weapons of the open shoppers, that the Shipstead bill is inadequate, that the union will fight to abolish the use of injunctions in labor disputes, and calls for mass violation of injunctions, "commending the example of the miners, textile workers and garment workers."

Fear Militancy

The resolutions committee first of all abolished the words, "open shoppers." Then it recommended that all reference to mass violation of injunctions "might go in Russia but is not applicable to the policies of the trade union movement in the United States." Another delegate jumped up to save Shipstead, and demanded no reference to his bill.

Mozier made a careful, judicious and convincing (if one be unprejudiced) defense of the motion, citing concrete cases of the use of the injunction in Philadelphia, and of the usefulness to labor of mass violation.

Delegate Wills, of another Philadelphia local, took the floor to attack Local 123, declaring that not the bosses but the local was to blame for some of the trouble.

Then Secretary Burke launched into a tirade, stating that

Mozier was a Communist, that mass violation of injunctions was not the tactic of the A.F.L. which had gained the workers all they had in Philadelphia, and that (contradictorily enough) the workers of Philadelphia were unorganized, because the "Communist Mozier" had stabbed in the back" the representatives of the national office who were there to clean up the movement of such characters as believed in mass violation of injunctions.

Whereupon Delegate O'Connell, Local 463, warned other locals not to accept any clearance cards from Local 123. And Delegate Irwin, Local 292, asked the delegates to "pay particular attention to the name of the delegate from Local 123; as a man named Mozier has been active in Canada trying to form a dual organization to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress."

Delegate Mozier got a few minutes time to deny relationship to the man in Canada, and defend the right of workers to violate injunctions that are choking the life out of them in a strike.

Whereupon President Cofield and others indulged in much anti-Communist talk, entirely irrelevant to the matter in hand) and the resolution was returned to the committee for rewriting.

The Salary Grab

Many machine locals brought in recommendations for raising the salaries of officials, the president's salary from \$6,500 to \$10,000, and others in proportion. All opposition was in vain, though the only argument offered for the salary grab was that it would aid in raising the dignity of the union, and proof was given that officers of other international organs could bleed the treasury more completely.

This was a sample of the battling throughout the convention; whenever a matter that was vitally required in the interests of the workers was proposed by Local 123.

One motion, in favor of the struggle for a five-day week was submitted by Local 123, and got through, though it came in the midst of a resolution calling for curtailment of overtime, municipal relief of unemployment, and together with a motion for out of work stamps made by Mozier, none of which were regarded favorably by the machine.

And Matthew Woll came down, praised the delegates for their constructive Activities, and pleaded with them to order all members of the union under \$1,000 life insurance in Woll's company. The matter was held over for referendum.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

It is with regret that we leave over until next issue the second article on the Packing Industry, which was to have described the conditions of workers in the meat packing house. The historic conventions and conferences last month, all of which had to receive mention in Labor Unity have used up our space.

In next issue, also, we promise an article by Harry Pollitt, head of the British Minority Movement, on the British Trades Union Congress just held at Swansea, also articles on the carpenters' and machinists' conventions and the A.F.L. convention in America.

A Brief Review of Events

Incidents Treated Elsewhere In This Issue Are Not Mentioned Here

Preparing A Tin War

A series of mergers during the last year in tin producing companies controlled by British capital has as its counter the proposed re-organization of the New York Metal Exchange, to deal in tin futures, and generally represent the American tin plate magnates when they come to buy from the new British trust. This is the stuff that wars are made of.

The tin situation is remarkably like that of rubber. The U. S. consumes half the world's tin supply for tin plate and babbitt metal and produces practically none of it. Early in 1928 the Associated Tin Mines of Nigeria was formed to take over most of the African output. This is controlled by the Anglo-Oriental company. Now, under the same control, a large number of concerns in Burma, Siam and Malaya have merged under the name of the Oriental Malaya, Ltd. The Dutch and Patino interests are the only other large tin mine owners now, and they are supposed to have a working agreement with the Anglo-Oriental syndicates.

Defense For Workers' Speakers

The International Labor Defense is handling the cases of a number of defense workers, speakers and candidates for office, arrested in the attempt to put a stop to their truth telling about the exploitation of workers in America. In Kansas the I.L.D. is defending Hugo Oehler, District Organizer Workers Party in Kansas, E. B. Eastwood, sec'y I.L.D. in Kansas City, and six other workers arrested with them. They are charged with Criminal Syndicalism, and their cases come up in the last week of September. The evidence against them is literature seized at two meetings they attended during August 21, and consists of Workers Party Platform, a book on Sacco and Vanzetti by Max Shachtman and another by Eugene Lyons, copies of The Labor Defender, and a book of Sacco-Vanzetti cartoons. The case for the state is very slim, but the frame-up system is possible in Kansas as elsewhere.

A state-wide conference, attended by delegates from many local unions, will meet October 14, 2 P. M. at Stanley Hall, Kansas City, to organize the defense of these workers, and to plan for the repeal of the Kansas criminal syndicalism law.

The Philadelphia section of the I.L.D. is fighting in defense of Workers Party speakers arrested under the Flynn Sedition Act of Pennsylvania, including Dominick Flaini, Emanuel Epstein, Herman Pinsker, Herbert Benjamin, Benjamin Weiss, and Israel Lazaar. The National office of the I.L.D. has carried the case of the Woodlawn steel workers, convicted under this law, to the state supreme court, where a hearing will be held in October. Here, too, a fight is to be wage1.

Typo Convention Reactionary

The annual convention of the International Typographical Union, held in Charlestown, S. C., went on record against the 40-hour week, which the New York delegates proposed to lighten the unhealthy work and to relieve unemployment. The convention, which was dominated by the agents of the Morrison-Howard machine, also rejected all attempts to give the locals more power in calling strikes.

Hosiery Lockout Sharpens

Additional arrests of Kenosha hosiery workers, locked out by the Allen A plant last February, are inflaming the long drawn out dispute over the speedups and union recognition. The arrests were made on federal warrants charging contempt of judge Geiger's injunction against picketing. The injunction was made permanent last week with costs assessed against the workers.

—Federated Press.

Would Frame Up Butcher Worker

William Shiffrin is held without bail in New York, while the district attorney tries to make a case of murder against him, because he defended himself when he, alone, was attacked by five right wing thugs anxious to drive from their jobs members of the left wing who had been expelled.

The thugs carried butcher knives, and drove Shiffrin back against a wall. He took out a pen knife, and put up such a fight that one of the thugs was killed and another wounded. Three thugs are also held, on testimony of passers-by who saw them attack Shiffrin.

Deny Centralia Victims Pardon

Greater agitation and more determined demands on the part of organized labor are needed to effect the release of eight innocent men, sentenced to virtual life imprisonment in Walla Walla Penitentiary, Washington. The Washington state parole board has just denied the application for pardon of the Centralia victims, members of the I.W.W. who defended their hall against the attack of the American Legion, and were framed up for murder as a result.

Connecticut Federation Convention

The Connecticut State Federation of Labor meeting during the first week of September accomplished practically nothing, aside from three resolutions. Three left wing delegates argued for and got through resolutions for the organization of the unorganized, against child labor, and for the release of Mooney and Billings. Resolutions they fought for to recognize Soviet Russia, and for a labor party, were defeated.

Graft, Lynching And The Campaign

Ex-governor Tom Hardwick of Georgia speaking in Jonesboro, August 31, in behalf of the candidacy of Governor Al. Smith, came out with a direct endorsement of the lynching of Negroes, "whenever the people think they are guilty of a crime." Hardwick appealed to the Southern property owners to vote for Tammany Hall, "the best friend of Southern White Property owners."

Queen's sewer graft has claimed the life of one of those involved, a certain d'Olier.

In spite of attempts to make his death seem accident or suicide, it is now proved that he was murdered, and his papers which are said to have implicated Tammany officials in the graft, have disappeared. Borough President Connolley is on trial charged with grafting \$7,000,000 in seven years.

Republican party misdeeds in the great Tea Pot Dome case are becoming campaign material in spite of the attempts to make "gentlemen's agreements" between the parties and keep them secret. The Workers Party has never been in any such agreement, and has always exposed both Republican and Democratic graft.

International Labor Notes

Revolt Looms in Bessarabia

Bessarabia, that part of Russia taken away by Rumania during the white guard invasion, is in a deplorable condition, heavily taxed, and afflicted this year with crop failures. Fear that the starving peasants will revolt has caused the government of "Bloody Queen Marie" to institute pogroms against the Jews to create a diversion, and to savagely suppress any liberal or labor sentiment that develops. Even so, a revolt is very probable.

Work Hard And Lose Money

To absorb the unemployed in New Zealand the government has started relief works at \$2.16 per day for single men and \$2.88 for married men. These rates are far below the minimum rates for unskilled labor and after deductions for food and lodging, traveling expenses etc. it is little better than chattel slavery.

In one case a man worked for 123½ hours and his earnings were \$27.76. Out of this the government deducted \$9.58 for rail and steamer fares and \$18.16 for board and lodging, leaving the magnificent sum of 2c as a net return for a month's work. In another case a man earned \$19.76 and the deductions were \$19.68, leaving him 8c. Many relief workers get empty envelopes marked NIL, while others were informed that they did not earn enough to pay their way.

A married man earned \$159.24, but owing to lost time through bad weatehr, his board and lodging amounted to \$159.20, leaving him 4c. The government actually asked him to pay the 4c as a duty stamp on the receipt for his food and lodging bill.

Suppress Peking Labor Unions

All, even the right wing, legalized trade unions in the Peking area have been ordered suppressed by a joint order of the chief of police and the commanding officer of the Peking garrison. Fear that the right wing, class collaborationist unions were being won over to the side of the All China Federation of Labor, is thought to be the reason. Police have closed, locked and sealed the Kuomintang union headquarters. The unions claimed 39,000 members.

Enslave Immigrants In Canada

With a loud fanfare of editorial trumpets, the British government's solution for its unemployment problem was announced some months ago: labor forced out of work by the long hours instituted after the defeat of the miners' and the general strike was to be shipped to Canada. Labor Unity at the time declared that these immigrants faced a sad future in the snow covered plains of Western Canada, where, after the harvest is in, work is very scarce indeed.

The reality seems worse than any one could expect. The British workers, unused to the open shop and speed-up conditions of the New World, protested that they had been swindled. They tried to return to England, and were jailed, many of them being held in stockades through the harvest country, and handed over to employers like so many chattel slaves, to be returned to custody when the temporary jobs are finished. The situation is a standing scandal, and English labor, which is just beginning to hear of it, is becoming aroused. A sharp fall in immigration to Canada is one of the results already secured.

Riflemen Menace Australian Dockers

A volunteer constabulary of 2,000 riflemen and machine gunners, led by army officers and ex-army officers has been raised by Premier Butler of South Australia to break the strike of the dock workers as Melbourne.

Fortified enclosures have been erected, within which it is sought by the shipowners and the state government to assemble scabs. Armed thugs and police are committing acts of violence against the workers.

A series of agent provocateur bomb explosions in the neighborhood of the houses of scabs and scab foremen have given Premier Bruce, of the federal government an excuse for one of his characteristic speeches against the unions, and he is issuing manifestoes declaring that the issue is "mob rule versus constitutional government."

The dockworkers are on strike against the "twice-a-day hiring system," which works great hardship upon them, and has never been agreed to by the longshoremen of Australia, and against the provisions of the "Waterside Workers Decision" (described on Page 28 of this issue of Labor Unity in the article "Class Struggle in Sunny Australia"). This quarrel was thought to be settled, but some of the worst provisions of the award have recently been resurrected and used against the workers, with a registration system which is actually a blacklist.

A Maritime Unions' Conference has been held to arrange machinery to manage a general strike, which is expected in the ports of Australia, if the provocative acts of government and shipowners continue.

British Minority Movement Conference

(Continued from Page 23).

the Chinese revolution, to the Indian labor movement, and the Pan-Pacific Secretariat.

The conference endorsed the decisions of the 4th Red International of Labor Unions World Congress. The writer was the delegate from the Red International of Labor Unions to the conference.

Special conferences were held of all the important industrial groups of delegates and plans of campaign laid out for their respective industries. Plans were adopted for building up the minority movement organizationally and for strengthening and revolutionizing of its cooperatives. The present leaders, Mann, Pollitt, Watkins, Hardy, Hannington, etc. were re-elected.

The conference was marked by a glowing enthusiasm and militancy. The fighting spirit of the splendid body of delegates augurs well for the Nat'l Minority Movement in its great fight to save the British trade unions from the machinations of the Mondist leaders and to turn these labor bodies into a real fighting organization, capable of defending the workers' interests now and of playing a real role in the final struggle for working class emancipation.

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A Selected List of the Most Interesting Books

Every worker should read each of the following books, in order to fit himself for the struggle of Labor. Order from Labor Unity, 2 West 15 St., New York City.

SOVIET TRADE UNIONS, by Robt. W. Dunn. Just published. "The purpose of this book is to provide an introductory picture of the trade unions in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, a country which has as its official motto: 'Proletarians of All Countries, Unite!'" 50 cents

LABOR PROTECTION IN SOVIET RUSSIA, by Dr. George M. Price. A first hand account of the protection accorded the Russian worker today, by an American authority on factory sanitation and industrial hygiene. \$1.25

PROGRAM OF THE TRADE UNION EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE. Adopted by the Third National Conference, New York, December 3-4 1927. An analysis of the crisis in the labor movement, and a complete outline for struggle on many fronts. The basis of T. U. E. L. activities. 5 cents

COMPANY UNIONS, by Robt. W. Dunn. Employers as labor leaders carefully examined. Many examples given. Yellow dog contracts and "Co-operation" between employers and employees. 25 cents

WHITHER CHINA? by Scott Nearing. A leading economist of America finds the political confusion of China to depend on the clashing classes there, and prophesies the next step. \$1.75

THE CIVIL WAR IN NATIONALIST CHINA, by Earl Browder. While editor of Labor Unity, Browder travelled with the International Workers Delegation entirely across China at the height of the critical period of the reaction against the left wing in the Koumintang. 25 cents

THE AMERICANIZATION OF LABOR, by Robert W. Dunn. The various devices, open and secret, used by employers and their associations to prevent unionization of the workers. \$1.90

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF SACCO AND VANZETTI, by Eugene Lyons. A complete and vivid account of the great social drama told against the background of immigrant life in America. \$1.50

HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN WORKING CLASS, by Anthony Bimba. The organizations and the activities of both the economic and political phases of the labor movement during the past hundred years. \$2.75

THE WORKER LOOKS AT GOVERNMENT, by Arthur W. Calhoun. A popular exposition of the nature of the U. S. government under the prevailing economic system. \$1.60

LEFT WING UNIONISM, by David J. Saposs. A study of radical policies and tactics of American trade unions. \$1.60

THE WOMAN WORKER AND THE TRADE UNIONS, by Theresa Wootson. A discussion of the permanency of women as a wage-earning group and the official policy of the trade unions in regard to their organization. \$1.75

RUSSIA AFTER TEN YEARS. The official report of the American Trade Union Delegation to the Soviet Union. Cloth, \$1.00; Paper, 50c.

REPORT OF FIRST AMERICAN RANK AND FILE LABOR DELEGATION TO SOVIET RUSSIA 25c.

Help the Chinese Unionists!

To sign a union card in China is to sign your death warrant. The most horrible White Terror reigns thruout China at present. Thousands of working men, women, and children have been massacred for daring to strike; trade union leaders are hunted with a price upon their heads and tortured and executed without trial when caught; labor unions have been driven underground, while tens of thousands of their members rot in jails. 300,000 workers and peasants have been slaughtered in the past twenty months by the reactionary Kuo Ming Tang in alliance with the Imperialists.

The All China Federation of Labor Unions which represented 3,500,000 organized workers in 1927, is now forced to work illegally. But their militant members in the face of starvation, torture, murder and executions are carrying on the struggle of the Chinese workers against inhuman exploitation by native and foreign capitalists. The active assistance of the workers thruout the world is needed in this stupendous fight.

In response to an appeal from the struggling workers of China the Committee to Aid the Chinese Trade Unions calls upon the workers of this country to come to the assistance of their Chinese Brothers. "They rely on your fraternal aid". Send your contributions addressed to this committee, Room 314, 96 Fifth Ave., New York City.

Assist the Chinese Workers in Organizing and Maintaining their Unions! Help Stop the Murder of the Chinese Workers and Peasants!

Show your soildarity with the Chinese Workers. Contribute generously and immediately!



AN "EXECUTION"

In this manner 25,000 workers have been slaughtered in China for joining unions.

MISLEADERS OF LABOR

Wm. Z. Foster, leader of the great steel strike, organizer of the packing house workers in Chicago, secretary of the Trade Union Educational League, nominee for president of the U. S. in 1924 and 1928 on the ticket of the Workers Party of America, is the author of a book that gives the inside history of the betrayal of the American labor movement. It is called "Misleaders of Labor", and contains 336 pages of facts that every worker needs to know to understand the present crisis in the labor movement.

In this book you get the "low down" inside dope on George L. Berry, Matthew Woll, John L. Lewis, Frank Feeney, James M. Lynch, Sigman, Beckerman, Mike Boyle, Tim Murphy, Peter Shaughnessy, Jim Cronin, W. G. Lee, Daniel Tobin, and many another. You will also find an analysis of the reasons why they are able to fatten on the unions, and what must be done to get rid of them.

Order from Labor Unity, 2 West Fifteenth Street, New York City

Cloth, \$1.75 — Paper Cover, \$1.25 Or get a book with one year's subscription of LABOR UNITY for \$3.00 (cloth cover) or \$2.75 (paper cover).

ALSO, FROM THE SAME ADDRESS, OTHER WORKS BY WM. Z. FOSTER